

The University of Chicago

KIOWA-APACHE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE
SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

1935

By

J. GILBERT McALLISTER

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J. GILBERT McALLISTER

INTRODUCTION

Social organization comprises the segments or groups into which a society is divided, such as family, clan, age, sex, occupation groups, or others. A study of social organization might be approached from several points of view; the method used here is a detailed examination of the kinship system—the terminology, the related behavior patterns, and the further relationships of kindred in the various social units. The procedure will be to present in detail the kinship structure and the life-cycle from the point of view of kinship behavior, and to summarize the social organization with reference to the manner in which the Kiowa-Apache were integrated. This is a logical approach from the point of view of these materials, for, as will appear later, the Kiowa-Apache are like one large, endogamous “band,” with a keen feeling of unity. Every Kiowa-Apache was literally related by blood or marriage to every other Kiowa-Apache. Consequently, the family and the numerous ramifying relationships are of utmost importance to these people.¹

The Kiowa-Apache are a small group of Athabaskan-speaking people now living in southwestern Oklahoma, near the small settlements of Fort Cobb and Apache. This is approximately the same territory that they occupied during the historic period, though their numerous raids carried them over a much larger area, from northern Nebraska to southern Texas and westward into Arizona. The geographical setting is that of the southern plains—a vast prairie crossed by comparatively large rivers flowing east and southeast. There were many kinds of wild animals, the most important of which was the buffalo. When they were

¹ This is a point of view stressed by Professor Radcliffe-Brown, not only in his lectures at the University of Chicago but particularly in his publication, *The Social Organization of Australian Tribes*.

exterminated, the main source of food and shelter for these Indians was gone. Had all plants and animals but the buffalo been destroyed, the Kiowa-Apache life, as well as that of other Plains tribes, might have persisted, and the conflict with white settlers might have been more severe. In aboriginal times there seems to have been an almost never ending supply of buffalo, and even as recently as sixty years ago great herds blackened the prairies.² The existence of the buffalo was taken so much for granted by the Kiowa-Apache that there were no buffalo fertility rites, although its social value was recognized in other ways. When the buffalo became scarce, these people had to turn to the smaller animals—deer, antelope, elk, and even rabbits, dogs, and birds for food. Then life was difficult; the men had constantly to hunt and the women to dig for roots and search for berries and fruits.

For as long as the Kiowa-Apache have any authentic tradition, they have been closely associated with the Kiowa, another Plains tribe speaking an entirely different and unrelated language. Communication was carried on by means of the sign language, and most of the old Kiowa-Apache knew a little Kiowa, though very few of the Kiowa had any knowledge of the Kiowa-Apache tongue.

During the time of the annual Kiowa Sun Dance, the Kiowa-Apache functioned as a "band" of the Kiowa, occupying a fixed place on the north side of the camp circle. During this dance the Kiowa-Apache were said to be under the jurisdiction of the Kiowa chief who was leader of the dance and owner of the *Taimé*.³ This chief was obeyed implicitly, for he was said to be in a position of unquestioned authority over both tribes from the announcement to the completion of the dance. Any violation of his orders was a violation of a ritual sanction, and dire catastrophe would befall the offender. The Kiowa-Apache, however, were not subservient to or dependent upon the Kiowa. At

² For descriptions of the vast herds roaming the plains in 1872-74, see Thomas Battey, *Life and Adventures of a Quaker among the Indians*, pp. 16-19.

³ *Taimé*: "the great central figure of the sun dance"; an exceedingly sacred object exposed to view only at the Sun Dance (Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa*, p. 240).

the completion of the Sun Dance the two tribes broke up into smaller groups, each following some favorite leader.

Occasionally there was intermarriage between the two tribes, but each tribe remained distinct, and today when the younger people, at least, have a common language (English), there is a surprising formality and stiffness in their relations with each other. Pressure and opposition from the outside is now, and probably was in the past, necessary to bring the two tribes together. More often they oppose each other in various games, and when they assemble for summer dances, each tribal group camps separately. The relationship, therefore, might be called one of "social symbiosis."

Since the Kiowa-Apache were a distinct social entity, they can be considered without reference to the Kiowa. Whatever influence these two tribes may have had on each other through borrowing is certainly of no concern here and can never be more than conjecture. Aside from the Sun Dance and possibly large war parties, at which times they acted together, the two tribes were quite distinct.

At present (1934) the Kiowa-Apache number about two hundred, counting those children who have a parent of another tribe and who, in some cases, live with the other tribe, only occasionally visiting their Kiowa-Apache relatives. Actually there are probably only about one hundred and fifty Indians now comprising the tribe proper. According to the old men, the Kiowa-Apache were always a small group. All estimates made during the nineteenth century, until the measles epidemic of 1892, usually averaged a little over three hundred people. Moonney says, "They have probably never numbered over three hundred and fifty."⁴ Inferiority of numbers has been considered the reason for their association with the Kiowa and is the only reason ascribed by the old men of both tribes.

The materials presented here are of a period vividly recalled by the oldest men of the tribe,⁵ approximately 1860-80. At that

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁵ The materials were collected in the field from October, 1933, to September, 1934. This was a research project sponsored by the department of anthropology

time some of the Kiowa-Apache had never seen a white man. They recall with amusement the first missionary to come among them—Thomas Battey, in 1872. However, the white man's influence had already been felt, and the culture was beginning to disintegrate before the close of the century. For two hundred years the Kiowa-Apache had had the horse, and its effects upon the culture were marked. Before its introduction, these Indians were much less nomadic. Their only domestic animal had been the dog, which was used chiefly as a beast of burden, either carrying loads on its back or hauling a travois, on which was lashed a small tipi or a baby. At that time all who were strong enough to carry a burden on the shoulders bore loads suited to their strength. Sometimes, when an enemy attack was feared, the men carried only their weapons, prepared to fight. In those days the people had little property and did not make long marches when they moved; there probably was less warfare. Also, without the horse, hunting the buffalo was more difficult. That is a period only hazily remembered now; the present informants lived in a time of increased activity, long marches and numerous raids, frequent contact with other tribes, larger tipis and more personal property, when the whole tempo of the culture had been greatly accelerated through the acquisition of the horse.

The Kiowa-Apache say that they knew nothing of agriculture, pottery-making, or even basketry. Their receptacles were made of wood, horn, or hides. A prepared buffalo intestine served as a water bag. Clothes, moccasins, robes, blankets, and the tipi were all made from hides, usually buffalo or buckskin. These people, then, are fairly representative of the Plains Indians. For an understanding of the former social structure of the Kiowa-Apache, the kinship system will first be examined.

of the University of Chicago. The present paper is a condensation of the writer's doctoral dissertation. Of the informants used, Apache Sam Klinekole was by far the best. Others with whom the writer worked for several weeks each, interspersed over the time in the field, were: Big Ben Chaletsin, Old Man Taho, Apache Clarence, Erati Taho, and Joe Blackbear. The two principal interpreters were Howard Allen Soontay and Alonzo Chalepah, the latter being fifty-seven years old and the best living medicine man.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship terminology is the system of words used in a given community for recognizing relatives. To simplify the analysis, Kiowa-Apache terms will be avoided as much as possible, and English equivalents will be substituted. Consanguineous relationships will be discussed first, followed by those of affinity.

The basic Kiowa-Apache kinship structure is outlined in Figure 1, for a male ego, secondary terms being noted in parentheses under the primary terms. A complete list of all terms with meanings used for designating kin will be found in Table 1. With the aid of the chart it will be noticed that in the first ascending generation there are four terms: (1) *ace*,⁶ "father," and anyone whom he calls "brother"; (2) *nade*, "mother," and anyone she calls "sister"; (3) *bedje*, anyone father calls "sister"; and (4) *baye*, anyone mother calls "brother." In the second ascending generation all relatives are known as *soyan*, "grandparent." In the third ascending generation, which is as far as the Kiowa-Apache recognize relationship, the men are called *daran*, "older brother," and the women, *dadán*, "older sister." In ego's own generation distinctions are made between older and younger brother, *daran* and *tlaan*, respectively; and older and younger sister, *dadán* and *detcan*. This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins, which may be surprising considering the difference in behavior and terminology of the parents of cross-cousins. In the first descending generation one's own children and those of a sibling of the same sex are classified similarly and distinguished from the children of a sibling of the opposite sex. Herein lies the only distinction between male and female ego in terminology. A man calls his own son and his brother's son, *jaan*; his own daughter and his brother's daughter, *tceyan*. His sister's children are grouped together and known by the single term *dayan*. Similarly, a woman calls her own and her sister's son *jaan*, her

⁶ The possessive pronoun "my" has been omitted. Only in the rather rare cases when a Kiowa-Apache addresses a person by a kinship term would he omit this pronoun. A discussion about relatives as presented here without the possessive pronoun would be unintelligible to him. For a phonetic rendering of these terms see Table 1.

KIOWA-APACHE KINSHIP SYSTEM

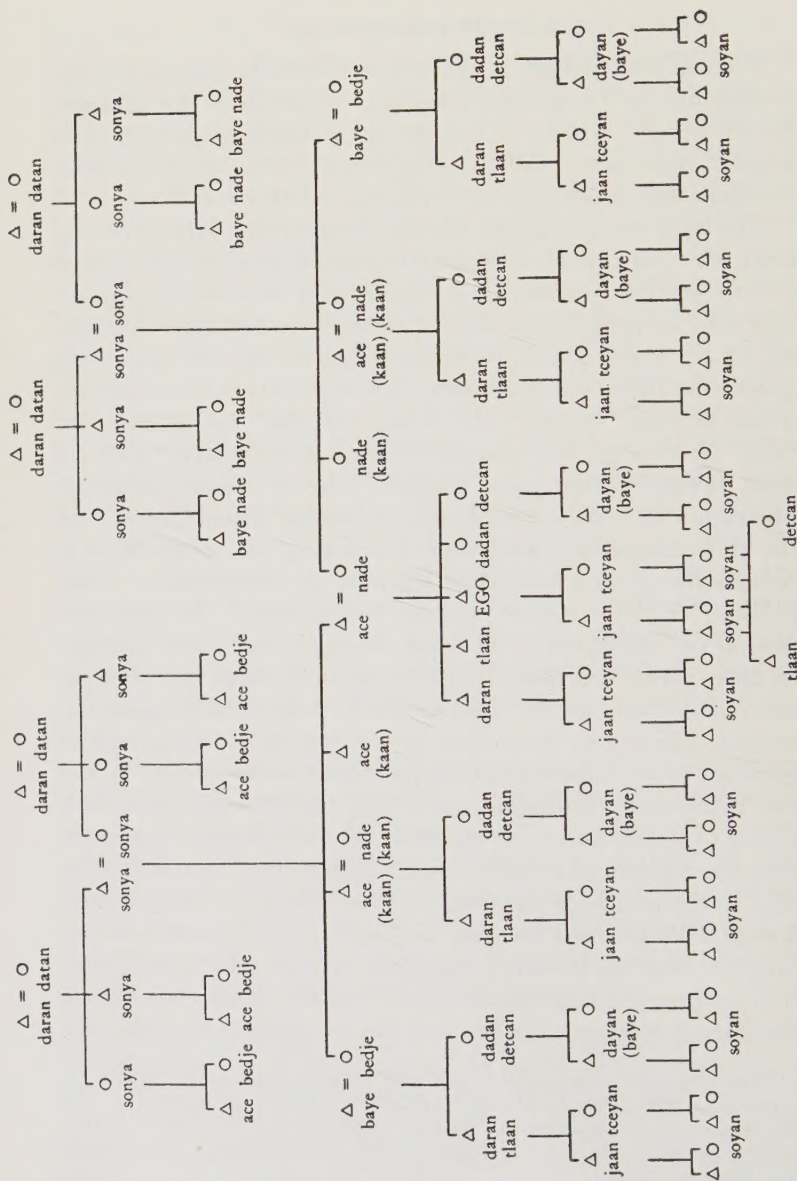


FIG. 1.—Basic terminological structure for the Kiowa-Apache. Ego = male; Δ = males; O = females; equal sign signifies marriage. Secondary terms are in parentheses. A female ego uses the same terms except that she classes her own and her

TABLE 1

COMPLETE LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS*

- ace* [-'à'cé], father, stepfather, anyone father calls "brother," anyone mother calls "husband"
acedatestcinde [-'à'cédàdè'stcf'dé], adopted father
acenadidlin [-'à'cénádídlí], stepfather ("he becomes father")
batana [bà'dà'ná], little brother-in-law; sister's husband, wife's brother (m.s.)
baye [-bá'yé], anyone mother calls "brother"; occasionally a man may use this term for a sister's child
bedje [-bé'djé], anyone father calls "sister"; occasionally stepfather
bitcadaca [bitcàdà'cá'], I follow him about
bitcagocin [bitcá'góci'í], all relatives, address form ("I am related to them")
cindjaan [-ts'ìlucà'á(?)], brother's son (w.s.)
cindjaisju [-ts'ìlucà'íjò(?)], brother's sons (w.s.)
co or *cu* [cò'(?)], affectionate term for wife
dadán [-'dà'dà], older sister, older female cousin, great-grandmother
daiju [-dà'íjò], sister's children (m.s.)
daran [-dà'γá], older brother, older male cousin, great-grandfather
dayan [-dà'yá], sister's child (m.s.)
denan [dè'ná], man, male (m.s., w.s.); husband, husband's brother, sister's husband, husband's grandfather, granddaughter's husband (w.s.)
detcan [-dè't'cá], younger sister, younger female cousin, great-grandfather
gotsu [gòtsó(?)], ceremonial grandfather (m.s.) (?)
hactciyan [háctciyá], old man
hactciyan bitcadaca [háctciyá bitcàdà'cá'], father-in-law ("I follow the old man")
icdjanan ['icdjá'ná], old woman
icdjanan bitcadaca ['icdjá'ná bitcàdà'cá'], mother-in-law ("I follow the old woman")
ictcinyan ['ictcf'yá], boy
intcina ['í'icíná], child, baby
intcina datestcinde ['í'icíná dàdè'stcf'dé], adopted child
intcina datestcinde sizdjaan ['í'icíná dàdè'stcf'dé sistcà'á(?)], adopted son
intcina datestcinde siztceyan ['í'icíná dàdè'stcf'dé sist'cè'yá(?)], adopted daughter
itedan ['it'édá], girl
jaan [-jà'á], son, son of sibling of same sex
kaan [-k'à'á], mother's sister, mother's sister's husband, father's brother, father's brother's wife, stepparent
la [-làh], sibling or cousin of opposite sex; wife's brother's wife (m.s.); husband's sister's husband (w.s.)
latce [-látcé], siblings and cousins of opposite sex
nade [-'nà'dé], mother, stepmother, adopted mother, anyone mother calls "sister," anyone father calls "wife"
nade datestcinde [-'nà'dé dàdè'stcf'dé], adopted mother
nade nadidlin [-'nà'dé nádídlí], stepmother ("she becomes mother")

* This is an alphabetical list of all terms and words used by the Kiowa-Apache in making kinship distinctions. The forms in brackets are strict phonetic renderings of the term immediately preceding. The phonetic alphabet used is that recommended in the *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. LXVI, No. 6. I am indebted to Dr. Harry Hoijer, of the University of Chicago, for the phonetic renderings and for checking the translation of the terms (m.s. = man speaking; w.s. = woman speaking).

TABLE 1—*Continued*

<i>sise</i> [-t'sisɛ], sibling or cousin of same sex; wife's sister's husband (m.s.); husband's brother's wife (w.s.)
<i>sisiju</i> [-t'sis'ijɔ], siblings and cousins of same sex
<i>soyan</i> [-tsɔ'yɔ], grandparent, grandchild, spouse's grandparent, grandchild's spouse
<i>tcan</i> [-t'cɔ], friend (m.s., w.s.); wife's grandfather, granddaughter's husband (m.s.)
<i>tcana</i> , in-law, including any of spouse's relatives in the first ascending generation, anyone spouse calls sibling of the opposite sex, anyone marrying ego's sibling of the opposite sex, anyone marrying a relative of ego's in the first descending generation
<i>tce</i> [tɛ(?)], all relatives (nonvocative)
<i>tcetcan</i> [t'cɛ'tcɔ], woman, female (m.s., w.s.); wife, wife's sister, brother's wife, wife's grandmother, grandson's wife (m.s.)
<i>tceyan</i> [-t'cɛ'yɔ], daughter, daughter of sibling of the same sex
<i>tedjaisju</i> [-t'ɛ'tcɔ'ijɔ], brother's daughters (w.s.)
<i>tetcaan</i> [-t'ɛ'tcɔ'yɔ], brother's daughter (w.s.)
<i>tetciyan</i> [t'ɛ'tcɔ'yɔ], young woman
<i>tlaan</i> [-t'lɔ'yɔ], younger brother, younger male cousin, great-grandfather
<i>tlin</i> , wife's sister, brother's wife (m.s.) (?)
<i>xangu</i> , old word for wife (?)
<i>zedan</i> [-zɛ'dɔ], brother's wife, wife's sister (m.s.); husband's brother, sister's husband (w.s.)

own and her sister's daughter *tceyan*. Her brother's children she distinguishes from her own, also distinguishing on the basis of sex, calling her brother's son *cindjaan*, her brother's daughter, *tetcaan*. Thus, when ego is male, there are three primary categories in the first descending generation, but four when ego is female. In the second descending generation all relatives are *soyan*, "grandchild," the same term as for "grandparent." In the third descending generation great-grandson is *tlaan*, "younger brother"; and great-granddaughter, *detcan*, "younger sister." This is as far as the Kiowa-Apache reckon kinship, going no farther since "old people never live that long." One old informant, who had two great-granddaughters ("younger sisters"), said that, if they had children and he lived long enough, he thought he would call their children *dayan*, for after all they are his "sisters" and his sister's children are his *dayan*.⁷ With this same reasoning a great-great-grandson would be *jaan*, "son."

⁷ This is the manner in which a Kiowa-Apache reasons when asked for the term for some relative which, in his particular case, does not exist. As an exam-

There are, then, but twelve basic categories (thirteen when ego is a woman) into which a man's consanguineous kin are classed. This mode of designating relatives may be termed "classificatory" since lineal and collateral kin are merged. There are some classificatory systems, such as the Hawaiian,⁸ which have even fewer categories, merging a larger number of relatives; and other systems, such as the Cherokee, which have more categories, merging fewer relatives.

Though many relatives may be grouped together, there is a feeling of "nearness" or "farness" which is frequently expressed in subsidiary terms or by qualifying the terms given above. A mother's sister may be called *kaan* ("one who holds me") about as frequently as she is called *nade*, but the term *kaan* is never applied to the biological mother. *Kaan* is also used for father's brother, stepfather, and stepmother. Though a stepmother is usually called "mother" (*nade*), this term may be qualified by *nadidlin*, "not my own." Similarly, *acenadidlin*, "father, not my own," is used for a stepfather, although usually he would be called "father." The same qualifying term, *nadidlin*, may be suffixed to "son" and "daughter" to distinguish stepchildren from own children. Usually no such distinction is made, for as the Kiowa-Apache say, "In your own mind you know." Adopted parents or children can also be distinguished: *ace datestcinde*, "adopted father"; *intcina datestcinde sizjaan*, "child, adopted, my son."

Another term for stepfather is *bedje*, the usual term for "father's sister." It is infrequently used, and younger and middle-aged Kiowa-Apache who had never heard of this use tended to be skeptical.⁹ The usual term for mother's brother, *baye*, may

ple, when asked for the kinship terms for a father's father's brother's daughter (not, of course, in this manner but from the informant's genealogical tables, in which case the recorder frequently has to ask his informant to assume that such and such a relative has a daughter, or grandson, or whatever relative is in question), the informant will say, "That woman you want to know about, she would be my father's sister, and my father's sister is my *bedje*."

⁸ In the Hawaiian system, e.g., there is but one category in the ascending generation, that of parent, no distinction necessarily being made in sex.

⁹ Incidentally, this term stirred up one of a number of interesting tribal controversies while I was there. The day after I had been given this term for step-

also be used by a man for sister's children, but not by a woman. Another secondary term is that for younger brother, *taan*, used by both man and woman.

There are a number of terms used in ego's generation but not listed in the basic kinship charts in order to avoid confusion. Usually the term for older or younger sibling of the same or opposite sex is used, but the following terms occur: *la*, "sibling of the opposite sex"; *sise*, "sibling of the same sex"; *latce*, "siblings of the opposite sex"; *sisiju*, "siblings." There is some doubt about the existence of a general term for siblings of the same sex.

When it is necessary to distinguish between the grandmother and the grandfather the qualifying "old man" or "old woman" may be suffixed; thus *soyan hactciyan* is grandfather. Grandson and granddaughter are distinguished by suffixing "boy" (*ictciyan*) or "girl" (*itedan*). "Boy" and "girl" are also suffixed to *dayan* to distinguish sister's son from daughter.

Consanguineous relatives are seldom, if ever, designated by descriptive terms. Usually from the context or the presence of a person, one knows to whom reference is made. Descriptive terms do occur among affinal relatives as noted below.

The basic terminological structures for affinal relatives are shown in Figures 2 and 3. It will be seen that there are but three new categories for a man or woman: *tcetcan*, "wife," or *denan*, "husband"; *tcana*, "in-law"; and *zedan*, "spouse not my own." Two of these three—*tcetcan* and *zedan*, and *denan* and *zedan*—are almost the same. Other affinal relatives, particularly those removed in time, as the third ascending and descending generations, are classified with consanguineous kin.

father, a middle-aged Kiowa-Apache came to see me. "Yesterday the old man told you they call stepfather *bedje*. That's wrong; that old man don't know; that's what they call aunt, etc." His reason for coming to me was that he wanted a job, but through him I discovered that there was quite an argument in progress, and all the old men and women were being consulted. Several times after that, when I informally met some old man, he would want to know if I knew what *bedje* meant. The result was that the old people were unanimous in agreeing that the term could be used for stepfather; the younger ones were all doubtful. I give this instance in some detail to indicate how an investigator may be rather carefully checked by the tribe in general. Several times I was amazed at the rather general knowledge of what each informant was telling me, even to minute details. In addition to using all available informants, this served as an excellent check on the data secured.

KIOWA-APACHE KINSHIP SYSTEM

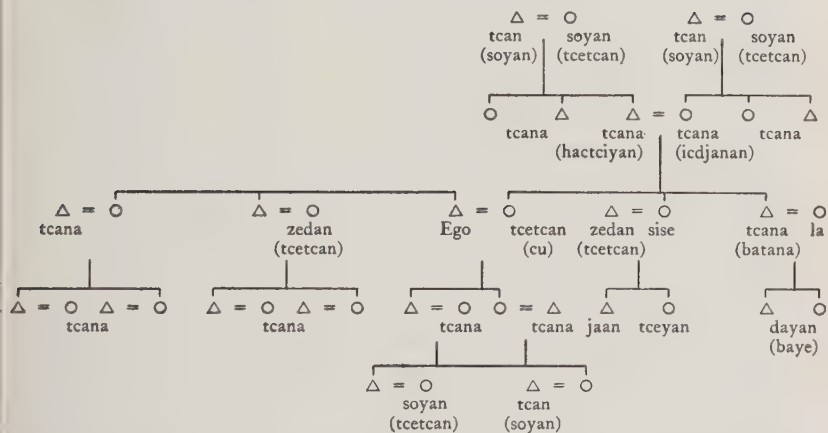


FIG. 2.—Terminological structure for affinal relatives. Ego=male. Secondary terms in parentheses.

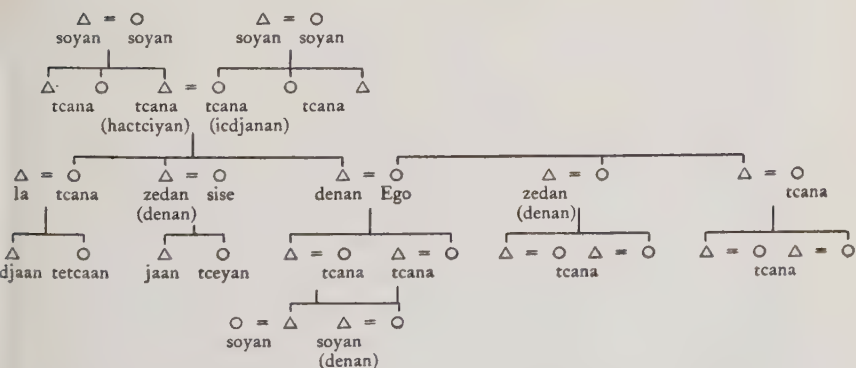


FIG. 3.—Terminological structure for affinal relatives. Ego=female. Secondary terms parentheses.

A man generally uses *tcetcan* for his wife, but *cu* (or *co*) and *xangu* were also mentioned. There is disagreement over the use of these secondary terms, some informants never having heard of them, other saying they are very old terms, and still others saying they are new terms. There are apparently no such secondary terms for a husband. *Zedan* is used by a man for "wife's sister" and "brother's wife," and reciprocally by a woman for "husband's brother" and "sister's husband." A wife's sister and a brother's wife may also be called *tcetcan*, "wife,"¹⁰ and a husband's brother and sister's husband may be called *denan*, "husband." A wife's brother and sister's husband are called *tcana*; *batana* was given as a secondary term for "wife's younger brother." A woman calls her husband's sister or her brother's wife *tcana*. A man's wife's brother's wife is called *la*, "sister"; and, since the term is reciprocal, a woman calls her husband's sister's husband, *la*, "brother." *Sise* is another reciprocal term, used by a man for his wife's sister's husband and by a woman for her husband's brother's wife. All a spouse's relatives in the first ascending generation are called *tcana*. To distinguish when necessary, the father-in-law may be called *hactciyan bitcadaca*, "old man whom I follow"; and a mother-in-law, *icdjanan bitcadaca*, "old woman whom I follow." A man usually calls his wife's grandfather *tcan*, "friend," but may use *soyan*, "grandfather"; he calls his wife's grandmother *soyan*, "grandmother," but has a right, in fun, to call her *tcetcan*, "wife." A woman calls her husband's grandparents *soyan* but has a right to call his grandfather *denan*, "husband." Spouses of one's own children are called *tcana* by both a man and a woman. The children of a wife's sister are called "own children," since the mother may be called "wife" and the father is called "brother." The children of a wife's brother are called by the same term (*dayan*) as sister's children, since the mother is called *la*, "sister." Similarly, a woman calls her husband's brother's children "son" and "daughter," since their father may be called "husband" and the mother is called "sister." The children of a husband's sister are classified

¹⁰ One informant gives *tlin* as an additional term for "wife's sister" and "brother's wife," but as it could not be checked, its accuracy is in question.

with brother's children, since the father is called "brother." In the third descending generation a man calls his grandson's wife *soyan* or sometimes "wife." A granddaughter's husband is called *tcana*, "friend," and seldom, if ever, *soyan*. A woman calls both her grandson's wife and her granddaughter's husband *soyan*. She may also call her granddaughter's husband *denan*, "husband."

It is evident from the foregoing that many affinal relatives are classified together under the general term *tcana*, "in-law." The terms distinguishing those in the first ascending generation were noted. To differentiate those in the first descending generation, where it is possible to have many sons- and daughters-in-law, descriptive terms are frequently used; sister's son's wife is *sitcana cidayan bitcetcan*, "my in-law, my sister's child, his wife." Similar descriptive terms can apparently be used to designate any relative when the classificatory term is confusing; thus younger brother's wife is *sizedan citlaan bitcetcan*, "my spouse not my own, my younger brother, his wife." But it is probably not necessary to use descriptive terms often, for frequently the person can be referred to by name, though there are certain relatives whose personal names can never be used, even in talking about them. This will be noted in the discussion of behavior.

KINSHIP RANGE

Among the Kiowa-Apache the terminology has no defined range, the only limitations being in ego's generation and these not very exact. Siblings are limited to brothers, sisters, and cousins. However, the cousin range may be extremely wide, for a person has many "near" and "distant" father's brothers, father's sisters, mother's brothers, mother's sisters; and parents have "sisters" and "brothers" through marriage; all whose children are "brothers" and "sisters." Then, too, good friends fall into a sibling behavior pattern, and although they do not use sibling terms, their children are considered as "siblings," both in behavior and in terminology. Though there is an attempt to define limits in one's own generation, and to some extent in the immediate ascending and descending generation, the "grand-

parent-grandchild" generation is "wide open," as the Kiowa-Apache say. Any old person is a grandparent.

For affinal terms one gets his cue from his spouse. There is a fixed number of categories, but the extent to which these terms are applied depends on the number of kin a spouse recognizes, which, in turn, depends on the rather vague pattern mentioned above.

Whatever the reason, and one which comes to mind is the smallness of the tribe, every Kiowa-Apache is related to nearly all the others. If a stranger coming into the group was to take any part in the communal life, he was almost of necessity fitted into the kinship pattern. If he did not become attached to some family, it is impossible to see how he could have continued to exist. Captives were frequently incorporated into the tribe, and hence there probably is no such person as a "pure" Kiowa-Apache. Everyone can trace relationships to Kiowa, Pawnee, Arapaho, Cheyenne, and other tribes. Captive white children became own children, especially if they were young. They grew up as Kiowa-Apache with every right and privilege of a Kiowa-Apache. A captive white woman taken as a wife could, if she were able to adapt herself, attain a position similar to that of any Kiowa-Apache wife. Adult males were almost invariably killed, and there was no mention of one's being taken captive and continuing to live with the tribe, although it might have been possible for such a thing to occur. The father of a sixty-year-old man, one of my informants, was a white man, said to have been a cowboy who "hung around" the tribe for a while. Anyone who had continuous and intimate contact with the tribe was fitted into the kinship system. It is surprising how tenaciously the old kinship pattern and terminology persist, even today when relationships are breaking down and the old culture is almost gone. In my own case I acquired certain relatives and only accidentally learned of the importance of that relationship, as will be mentioned under kinship behavior below.¹¹

¹¹ To ascertain more definitely the present range of relationships, a list was made of all the adult Kiowa-Apaches and at least one or two children from each family. This list also included ten persons from other tribes who had themselves

The Kiowa-Apache's range of relationships was wide, and as a consequence, nearly everybody in the tribe, since it was small, was related to everyone else. Frequently, of course, they were related in more than one way. Where a choice was thus open, the most desirable relationship was assumed. This was done, not according to any defined rules or through any agreement or discussion among the parties concerned, but usually by one of the individuals assuming the behavior pattern associated with certain kin. Usually, if any general rules could be made, a respect relationship would be continued or assumed if the new situation demanded it. In one instance a daughter-in-law, through a later marriage, came into the category of "wife" to her former father-in-law. The "daughter-in-law-father-in-law" relationship in all its strictness was maintained, and the man's comment was, "If I talk to her, the news would sure spread out." In another instance a respect relationship existed

married Kiowa-Apaches, or whose close relatives had done so. One of these latter was a Kiowa woman whose daughter was married to a Kiowa-Apache, another a girl whose mother (a Kiowa) was now married to a Kiowa-Apache but whose father was of another tribe. This list, which totaled ninety-seven, was checked with three Apaches, with the following results. The oldest informant, a man, claimed relationship to all but three of the group. These three were of those belonging to other tribes, though it will be noted that seven individuals of other tribes had become incorporated into his kin group. A second informant, a middle-aged man, claimed to be related to all but nine of the ninety-seven. The third informant, a middle-aged woman, said that twenty-seven were not related to her. There are several reasons for this large count on her part. First of all, her husband is an outsider, a Sioux (Dakota), so that she has not acquired a large body of Kiowa-Apache relatives through marriage. Furthermore, the women at present are inclined to ignore, if not to deny, that their sister's husband can call them "wife." They have learned that white men laugh at them for this relationship. Where the male informant above claimed her as a "wife" (she was the wife of his cousin), she said he was "no kin." Consequently, she said that his children were not related to her, though he claimed her son as his son. Similarly, the woman ignored a number of relationships which, because of genealogical tables, it was evident that she could have claimed. She was thinking more in terms of close relatives and much in the manner that Europeans count kin ties. Her information, therefore, is to be somewhat discounted and that of the men to be taken as more nearly the norm. However, even considering these discrepancies, and remembering that she married out of the tribe, she claims more than two-thirds of the Kiowa-Apache as kin. If the children of all these adults had been included, the number counted as kin would have been much greater.

between two men. Through a marriage a "grandson-grandfather" relationship came into being. The older man preferred the respect relationship, but the young one familiarly called the older man "grandfather" and began to tease and joke with him. The older man resented the new relationship, but there was nothing he could do about it since the young man had spoken to him familiarly. Probably in the past a younger man would not have been so presuming, and the older man would have had a choice, which would have been for the respect relationship. In another instance a man through a marriage became the brother-in-law of his former grandparent. Not knowing what relationship term to use, the two avoided using any and called each other by personal names. It seems probable that an older person, rather than a young one, and a man rather than a woman, could have chosen the relationship that would be maintained. Similarly, a respect relationship probably took precedence over one of familiarity, and undoubtedly the closer relationship over a distant one.

The last few paragraphs have reached beyond a mere description of kinship terminology, though most of the preceding discussion has been little more than the skeleton outline of the kinship structure with occasional references to wider interests. The more important aspects of kinship, the behavior and its relationship to the terminology, will now be discussed. This will be considered first from the point of view of the individual and his behavior toward different relatives, or rather toward the different categories into which his kin are grouped. It will be seen then what correlation exists between behavior and terminology. Finally, behavior will be considered from the point of view of the whole life-cycle.

BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

The old behavior patterns are falling into disuse with the general disintegration of the culture, so that at present it is difficult to observe the varying attitudes toward relatives. Most of the information here presented was obtained through questions, for only the pronounced patterns, such as avoidance of affinal rela-

tives of the opposite sex, are still visibly continued. When discussing behavior, the Kiowa-Apache use the terms "joke," "tease," "love," "scared," "afraid," and others. These terms vary in meaning, for there are different ways of "teasing," different degrees to which a person is "afraid." When a Kiowa-Apache says that he is a "little afraid of his father," it is different from the "fear" of a brother-in-law, which in turn is different from the "fear" of a mother-in-law. Therefore, when such a term is used below, it must be considered in connection with the other terms used to describe the relationship. The variations in the meanings of these words will become more apparent as examples are given to illustrate the conduct toward different relatives.

Parent-child.—Behavior between parents and children is differentiated not only on the basis of age but also on the basis of sex. A mother and a father are not accorded the same type of love and respect, just as parents do not treat a son and daughter alike. A few generalizations can be made about parent-child behavior, but the analysis will have to be made from the point of view of a father to his son or daughter, or a mother to her son or daughter.

The Kiowa-Apache parent is usually loving, intimate, and indulgent toward his child. His whole life is bound up with that of his offspring and by extension, not only in terminology but also in behavior, directly to many children. Whenever and wherever supernatural aid is sought, the prayers are almost invariably for one's own and one's children's health, success, and long life. One of the important herbal medicines is a "baby medicine," which assures many and healthy children. The ritual life, while thought to center primarily about the individual,¹² is usually indirectly, and sometimes directly, concerned with Kiowa-Apache children. This will become more apparent in the outline of the life-cycle.

When children are small, the parents "tease them, sing to them, make them dance—anything to make them laugh."

¹² This is primarily true only in the visionary experiences.

Kiowa-Apache parents almost court the favor of their children—conduct which frequently conflicts with their position of authority as teachers of the tribal lore. The Kiowa-Apache say:

Woman sometimes talks to her son. If he listens, the mother is going to try and fix him up, making good moccasins and leggings for him. If he doesn't listen, she may send him to his aunt. . . . Maybe, after a while, the mother gets lonesome for her boy and calls him back. He says, "No, you scold me all the time. I want to stay with my aunt or my grandpa." Woman gets tired and gets up and goes down where her boy is. "Son, I've come after you." The boy puts his head down. "All right, I'll go back, but you don't treat me good, you scold me; next time I'm going to stay with my grandpa." When the boy gets back, his father says, "Come sit right next to me." The father pats him and gets arrows for him and treats him good.

Most of the time parents try to be "good" to their children; that is the pattern and any parents acting otherwise are "talked about."

A child usually loves and respects his parents but is not intimate with them in the sense of joking or teasing. There is a feeling of formality, of conflict, between the parent and the child generations not noticed between alternate generations. Probably this is due to the superordination-subordination relationship of the two generations, for all authority, all compulsion, so far as the child is concerned, is traced to the parents. Although relatives older than a child, from siblings to grandparents, share to a greater or less extent, depending upon circumstances, in his training, and although an older brother or a grandparent may even be called in to administer punishment, the source of authority seems to be lodged in the parents, particularly the father. Hence the Kiowa-Apache say that a child is "a little bit afraid of his daddy."

The father is most often the one who advises his son. One informant says:

My daddy treats me good; he gives me good talk and I listen. He says, "Get up early and look after the horses and ponies." If I don't listen to my daddy, the other people will talk about me. If I rastle around right like my daddy says, then the people will talk good about me. Maybe they will let me marry their daughter. My daddy makes arrows for me and arrow bag. He makes bow-string of sinew, and feathers arrows, and puts spikes¹³ on them for me. Someday

¹³ For many generations the Kiowa-Apache traded for iron to use for projectile points and even the oldest men do not know how flint heads were made.

my friend comes in and I say, "My daddy made this for me." They will know that my daddy is good to me.

Not only does the father give things to his son, but he teaches him how to make weapons and how to use them. Although the father is primarily concerned in the boy's training, all older male relatives are interested, but their share in a child's education depends on their opportunities for contact.

The behavior toward a father's brother or classificatory father is but slightly different from the behavior toward a father. The boy respects him, is a little afraid of him, but ordinarily does not have much contact with him. On his part the paternal uncle seldom gives advice to his brother's son, though he may do so occasionally. The Kiowa-Apache say that these two relatives are not "rough" with each other. The relationship, being a little more distant, is probably a little less formal, though should this potential "father," through deaths, remarriages, or other circumstances, become the mother's husband, the relationship would undoubtedly become more formalized. This difference in attitude may be seen in the use of names. A son would never, under any condition, use his father's personal name, but in order to differentiate between a number of father's brothers, he may use their names. However, he would avoid doing so as much as possible. The father and his brothers can freely use the son's given name but probably use "son" most often.

A woman has little to do with the training of her son. She may advise him, commending or criticizing his behavior, but the actual training is in the hands of the father and other older male relatives. Between mother and child there appears to be a more intimate relationship than between father and child. This is well illustrated by what one informant said:

If your father died and your mother married again and you got a mean step-father, your mother would probably take your side against her new husband. But if your mother died and your father married again and you got a mean stepmother, your father would probably side with his new wife and not take up for you.

Another informant says, "A boy sure loves his mother; he thinks she is a great thing. He goes to her when he is hungry."

There seems to be less distinction between a mother and her sisters than between a father and his brothers. This may be due to the former practice of polygyny, where two or three sisters married the same man. When this occurred, there was probably little or no distinction made between the several wives, who were all called "mother." They were father's wife, therefore mother. Then, too, a child probably saw his mother and her sisters together about the camp more frequently than he saw his father and father's brothers together since they were usually away hunting or raiding. Also, residence seems to have been matrilineal more often than patrilineal. There is one noteworthy distinction in behavior to actual mother and to her sisters: A child would never use his mother's name, but under certain conditions he might use the name of his mother's sister. There is no restriction upon their use of the child's name.

Aside from talking to his daughter and giving her advice, a man has little to do with her training. The mother and her sisters, or a grandmother, teach a girl to tan hides, make clothes, and cook. The young girls helped their elders about the tipi, carrying water and wood, or they went with them to collect roots, learning the easiest way to dig and how to select the best. Presumably a mother or any of a girl's older female relatives instructed her about marriage, conception, birth, and other sexual matters. Actually there was probably little formalized instruction of this type for either boys or girls; the men deny that their fathers ever taught them about sex.

As the mother is the favorite parent, so the daughter is said to be the favorite child. The son, however, particularly when he grows up, receives the better treatment. His mother and sisters wait on him, cook for him, and make his clothes, and he is accorded much more respect than his sister. He is a potential warrior, hunter, and chief, and they are all "good" to him.

Father's sister-brother's child.—The father's sister is the female counterpart of the father; she is a "stepfather." This is not only indicated by the terminology, where the word for aunt, *bedje*, is also used for stepfather, but is noticed in behavior as well. The respect one has for an aunt is much the same as the re-

spect for a father, with possibly the fear eliminated. The Kiowa-Apache says he is not "afraid" of his aunts, neither is he "rough" with them. He would never tease or joke with them; "you are good to her and she is good to you." If a child is hungry, he might go to his aunt for something to eat. If one could stratify types of behavior, a father's sister would come in between father and mother. A Kiowa-Apache is not so intimate with her as with a mother, nor does he have the fearsome respect toward her that is frequently noticed toward a father. A disobedient child may be sent to his aunt when his parents seem incapable of handling him, and she, presumably, can manage him.

A mother's brother's wife and father's sister are in the same category. The Kiowa-Apache say that there is little distinction in behavior toward these two aunts; possibly they prefer a mother's brother's wife. This seems to mean that they are less formal with her than with a father's sister, otherwise "they are both your aunts, and you behave just alike to them." When it is necessary to address an aunt, the kinship term would usually be used, but when it might become important to distinguish between several aunts, a personal name could be used.

Mother's brother-sister's child.—The relationship between a mother's brother and sister's child is one of friendly intimacy. A nephew "has his heart toward his uncle." One informant says:

I love my uncle, and he loves me. My uncle is like my daddy, but my uncle loves me best. Maybe he catches me and pats me and says, "Nephew, don't act crazy." My uncle doesn't scold, but he talks good. He might make me an arrow and bow. If I shoot funny, my uncle laughs at me, "Nephew, you will make a crack shot."

The mother's brother takes a great interest in the training of a sister's son, teaching him to shoot and taking him hunting. When a boy makes his first kill, or a girl her first piece of hand-work, it is frequently the uncle who gives a horse to some old man or woman who then makes public announcement of the child's accomplishment.

If a child is in trouble or wants something, he is more likely to go to his mother's brother than to his parents, for he knows that his uncle will not refuse him. One informant says: "If

anything happens, I go to my mother's brother. 'Uncle, I want that pony.' He thinks awhile and then says, 'All right.' Or I may get a gun or arrows from him. My uncle will give me what he can."

A mother's brother and sister's child tease and joke with each other. This, so far as I was able to discover, is not a formalized or standardized type of joking. A woman informant says, "I am not ashamed of my uncle; I tease him and he teases me." If there is any difference in behavior, on the uncle's part, toward a niece and a nephew, it is in the type of jokes. Apparently the jokes with a niece are milder than those with a nephew. The jokes between uncle and nephew are probably less ribald than those between brothers or grandparent and grandchild. This somewhat milder form of joking with an uncle is probably an indication of the respect attitude usually present toward the parental generation. The mother's brother is the most intimate male relative a child has in the first ascending generation; he is much better liked than a father's brother and even more than a father. A child is on terms of near equality with his uncle, as is reflected in the terminology, in which the secondary term a mother's brother can use for a sister's child is the same term, *baye*, that the child uses for him. Reciprocal terms are usually correlated with symmetrical behavior.

A father's sister's husband is in the same category as the mother's brother, and the behavior is said to be the same as that toward an actual mother's brother. Opportunities for expressing this relationship with more distant uncles are often limited, as with all more distant classificatory relatives.

Grandparent-grandchild.—Between alternate generations, the grandparent and grandchild generations, there is a surprising intimacy. Only with siblings of the same sex are the Kiowa-Apache more intimate; and the relationship between a grandparent and a grandchild of opposite sex is probably more intimate than with any other consanguineous kin of opposite sex.

Alternate generations tease and joke without restraint. They are "rough" with each other, say the Kiowa-Apache, by which they mean that a grandparent may tell his grandchild obscene

jokes regardless of sex. Around the fire, in the evening, the grandparents tell endless stories, until the grandchildren fall asleep. The glamorous and mythical past of the tribe is reviewed; heroic deeds of ancestors are recounted; the entertaining and often obscene adventures of Coyote are told. This is school for the Kiowa-Apache children, and the child who has not had grandparents to instruct him is thought to be handicapped. To an inquiry about the relative worth of several old men as informants, it was said that one of them "didn't know much because he didn't have any grandparents."¹⁴ A grandparent surpasses a parent, for, as one man said, "My grandpa has a lot more experience; he knows more." All Apaches say that they love their grandparents more than their parents.

Not only do grandparents admonish their grandchildren, but they take an active part in training them. A grandfather will teach a grandson to shoot or make weapons. Similarly, a grandmother will teach a granddaughter to sew, cook, or dig roots. Usually the father's mother makes the cradle at a child's birth. Occasionally a grandparent will give his name to a grandchild, or he may give a horse to the announcer on the occasion of his grandson's first kill.

Sometimes the grandparent may be asked by the parents to punish a child, but despite this fact there is great familiarity between these generations. There is respect for the grandparents but not the kind of respect (fear) that one has for father. This was expressed by one Kiowa-Apache who said, "If a girl or boy doesn't listen to their grandpa, that is wrong, for their grandpa treats them good."

Any disagreement and conflict which may occur between alternate generations are very different from the conflict between parent and child generations. This latter is an ever present, covert feeling of restraint, which the Kiowa-Apache expresses by saying they are "a little bit afraid." With the alternate generation there seems to be much more equality, a free give-and-

¹⁴ It is difficult to understand how an Indian could be without grandparents considering the classificatory system. In this instance the man who made the remark was jealous and discrediting the other's ability.

take, and if a disagreement occurs, it is followed by reconciliation. One informant said, "I have it out with my grandpa, but I still like him."

This equality of feeling is expressed not only by calling each other by the same kinship term, but by the reciprocal use of personal names, which can be used as freely as names are ever used. The feeling between grandfather and grandson is so intimate that a grandson's wife may be called "wife"; similarly, a woman calls her granddaughter's husband "husband." The following examples will further illustrate the intimate relationship between alternate generations.

During my stay with the Kiowa-Apache, I had taken a number of pictures of members of the tribe but never of the oldest man, one of my informants. He never had had a picture taken, and he did not want one made. His son and daughter were very anxious to have a photograph of him, and a number of times when I had a camera with me they tried to get their father to pose. He always refused, and if they persisted, he turned his back on them. One day the old man's grandson was present; so I asked him to get the old man to have his picture taken. The boy called to his grandfather, "Come on out and get your picture taken"; and the old man, grumbling a little, posed for two pictures.

About the same time I was very anxious to work one more day with the informant I had found to be the best. The tribe was having its annual dance, and, since the old man was the only one with enough interest and energy to lead the dances, he had to stay and make the others dance. One of the last mornings I went over to get him, and for more than half an hour I argued with his relatives. He was willing to come, but they held him. Finally, when I had given up hope, I said with much disgust to the old man, "That's a nice way to treat your grandson." For several months I had been working with the old man, and we had come to be very friendly, teasing and joking with each other. Nothing formal had been done about this relationship; but our behavior had been that of grandfather and grandson, and the use of the kinship term had followed as a consequence. When I chided him about his treatment of me, a "grandson," the whole

situation was altered. He then thought he had better come work with me, but his relatives were not going to give in. They told him in no uncertain terms that that was no way to treat the rest of his relatives. The old man was in a quandary, tears coming to his eyes. The situation was amazing to me, for I had no conception of having a claim on the old man. Finally, he thought of a compromise: he would work at the dance all day and at sunset come to my house and work until the morning star came up.

Sibling-sibling; friends.—The most intimate behavior, the closest feeling of unity, is between siblings of the same sex, and between "friends,"¹⁵ who, if they are at all intimate, are considered as "brothers" or "sisters." A Kiowa-Apache says, "A brother is a man's best friend," or "Friends are like brothers; raise up together; go around together when they are children." Usually the association of brothers or "friends" continues through life, and "his head will usually lie in the same place as yours, if you should be killed."

This attitude is not fixed among children but becomes pronounced as the men reach maturity. During childhood an older brother frequently disciplines a younger brother. Upon maturity there is probably less difference between older and younger brothers, and the behavior becomes one of equality. A brother (or "friend") is one person with whom one can tease and joke to extremes. By these extremes a Kiowa-Apache means that obscene jokes and the foulest language can be used to a brother or in his presence. This behavior further expresses itself in sham fights which to spectators may appear real.

Whatever brothers have they will share with one another. "They treat each other right; they don't fuss; they like each other." They may even share a wife, though this probably does not occur frequently. One old man said:

If the unmarried brother comes to visit, the married one tells him to sit down by his wife. Maybe he will say, "Brother, I'm going way down there. I come back tomorrow; you sleep with my wife tonight. It is all right for a brother to

¹⁵ So far as could be determined, a Kiowa-Apache does not have a "friend" of the opposite sex. Intimacy with the opposite sex apparently presupposes sexual relations.

sleep with his brother's wife. If a wife dies, you can get another woman, but if a brother dies, you won't see him any more. Brother, if I die, don't you leave our wife."

The levirate in this form—marriage to a deceased brother's wife—occasionally occurs. It was noted above that a man could call his brother's wife "wife." It is also said that a man may let his visiting "friend" sleep with his wife.

Probably the most frequently heard admonition of an elder to a younger man is "stay with your brother in a fight." An informant says:

If one of your brothers is afoot or surrounded by an enemy, it is your duty to save him or die with him. If a brother is killed and you did nothing to help or save him, you would be disgraced. The story would be told how you did not help your brother; all would talk about it, and the women would laugh at you. They would say, "You gave your brother to the enemy."

This loyalty on the part of brothers is cited as a reason for loving a brother more than a wife.

Though the behavior of siblings is easy and intimate, a man should have a certain respect for his brother. One gets permission before using something belonging to him. "If you catch one of your brother's horses without his knowing it, he might not like it. Get his permission first, ask a brother right." A brother would never refuse. The Kiowa-Apache discerningly remark that "if a fellow tries to work you [obtain something from you], he calls you 'brother' so you won't get out of it."

Brothers generally use kinship terms toward one another, but there is no restraint upon their use of one another's names. Usually a man has the same avoidances as his brothers. A brother's mother-in-law is treated as one's own mother-in-law. Through his brother's marriage a man acquires a whole set of affinal relatives to whom he usually behaves in the same manner as his brother does. Two brothers or two "friends" are as nearly one social personality as can be obtained. At death a living brother further shows his affection by taking one or more of his deceased brother's horses and caring for them better than he does his own.¹⁶

¹⁶ However, this is not only a demonstration of love, but it adds to the prestige of the one who does it, for the Kiowa-Apache watch and comment on the treatment a man bestows on his deceased brother's horse; for more detail see "Death, Mourning, and Remarriage," pp. 157 ff.

In the *Manatidie* and *Klintidie*, dancing societies discussed below, a man's partner is his "friend." A man may find this "friend" after he is taken into the group, but usually the friendship has been formed previously. Two good friends may be taken in together and become ceremonial friends. If a man and his partner are not friendly, a change is made and a new partner obtained. These partners, or any real "friends," have the same obligations to each other as brothers, even to sacrificing their lives or sharing their wives. As "brothers" they then have the same relatives, so that in acquiring a partner or a good "friend" one obtains a new set of classificatory relatives since "friend's" relatives are classed as one's own relatives. These fictitious kin are like blood-kin to the children of "friends," who are classified as siblings and consequently would never marry. "Friends," however, never use sibling terms to one another. This former intimate behavior of "friends," considered by the Kiowa-Apache to be as intimate as blood-relationship, together with the classificatory manner of grouping relatives, is now causing legal difficulties in inheritance. Recently an Indian claimed a share in the property of his grandfather's *Manatidie* partner. He claimed this man as his "grandfather" and stated that he should share equally with the real grandchildren. The agency did not recognize this claim, though in many cases such acquired relationships have been legally sanctioned. In the instance cited the man undoubtedly lost because the Kiowa-Apache as a whole dislike him for his avaricious, land-grabbing tendencies and so revealed the fictitious character of the relationship.

The behavior between sisters is much the same as that between brothers—intimate, unrestrained, and loving, but lacking some of the intensity and loyalty of brothers. One informant says, "Sisters love each other. One thing no good, if one gets married, the youngest or oldest, this fellow, it is like he has two wives. Those sisters fuss over the man; but when they are single, they love each other. They can't fix it good like men." However, this was a man's point of view, and he would never admit the woman's claim that sisters love one another more than they do their husbands. Another informant said, "Sometimes a younger sister would want to live with her older sister and then

she would make the proposal that she marry her sister's husband, too." It is an accepted axiom that, if a man has several wives, there is little or no trouble between them if they are sisters. In all polygynous unions recorded in the genealogies, the women were sisters.

Sisters tease and joke with one another to the same extent as brothers do. They also help one another in working; together they collect roots, gather wood, or carry water. Each has the same relatives as the others. If they marry unrelated males, each becomes related to the others' husbands' relatives. If women think that a man has mistreated one of their sisters to whom he is married, they may get together and give him a thorough beating. Just as among men, a woman's "friend" is as close as a sister and observes the same behavior.

The relationship of mature brothers and sisters is one of restraint and formality, but avoidance does not occur before adolescence. It would not only be difficult to keep separate the small children before they learned to avoid siblings of the opposite sex, but there would be a conflict with important observances in the child's dancing society, the Rabbits, discussed below. Through observation the children gradually learn to avoid the opposite sex, but sooner or later the parents will enforce the taboos.

An older sister has a motherly attitude toward both a younger sister and a younger brother. She may look after them, prepare food for them, and tease them. An older brother has a fatherly attitude to younger siblings. With the lapse of time a man's attitude toward a brother becomes more and more intimate; but toward a sister it becomes more and more restrained and formal. With maturity "girls don't hardly look at a brother's face; a man don't look at his sister's eyes; they don't sit next to each other. Man can't sit on her bed, nor she on his." They do not tease each other or use obscene words in conversation when the other is present, but they talk to each other and "take each other's words to heart." However, they would not stay in the same room alone with each other.

Regarding the brother-sister relationship, the Kiowa-Apache

say: "If you have a sister, love her as a man loves his daughter." "Brother sort of boss his sister." They refer, of course, to a mature brother, therefore usually an older brother. "The father says to the daughter, 'I love my son; if he sees you running around at night, he can shoot you.' That is why girls listen to their fathers and brothers." "A brother is her boss so that she would be a good girl; men don't want to be laughed at because a sister runs around." "Maybe they only shoot a sister in the leg, but a tough one might kill a sister." Though this is a possibility, no brother has been known to kill or even to harm a sister, but only rebukes her.

Before a girl can marry, her brother's consent must be obtained. Occasionally a brother might arrange a marriage, giving his sister away. At the time of marriage an older brother may admonish his sister "to stay away from him and be a good wife." A man may make his sister go back to her husband or, if he thinks his sister is being mistreated, may take her away from her husband. In connection with this brother-sister relationship, the behavior of brothers-in-law is important and will be discussed below.

These behavior patterns apply to all classificatory brothers and sisters. This includes, in addition to one's own brothers and sisters and cousins, great-grandparents, great-grandchildren, a wife's brother's wife, a husband's sister's husband, and even such distant relatives as a woman's brother's wife's brother's wife, or a man's sister's husband's sister's husband. These last relatives are the aunts (*bedje*) and uncles (*baye*) of a child. Since a child groups them (father's sister and mother's brother's wife; mother's brother and father's sister's husband) together, they should behave to one another as brothers or as sisters.

Though there seems to be no limit to classificatory relatives, even in one's own generation where limits are said to exist, there is more or less intensity in behavior according to the nearness or farness of the relationship, or sometimes according to circumstances. This can be illustrated by what a Kiowa-Apache said about a great-grandparent to great-grandchild relationship. "Maybe to great-granddaughter I will talk a little bit dirty, but

not to my real, full sister." "Sam [male] kind of jokes with Charline [great-granddaughter]." However, a little later the same informant said, "When she get older, I can't tease her, can't use dirty mouth, but treat her like a sister. Don't tease little sister even if you are twenty and she is five." Though it is now almost impossible to obtain examples, intensity of behavior undoubtedly depends to a large extent on opportunities for contact. Behavior seems to be better defined, such as becoming more formal in avoidance relationships, the more frequent and intimate the contact.

The basic behavior patterns of all consanguineous kin have now been reviewed. This behavior is expressed by the Kiowa-Apache primarily in terms of intimacy or formality. Intimacy, however, is not necessarily correlated with love or interest, nor formality with a lack of interest. If this behavior could be stratified, or arranged on a scale, a series probably like the following would be obtained. This is arranged from the most intimate to the most formal behavior, from the point of view of a man, toward his consanguineous kin:

Brother.	Most intimate
Friends	
Grandchild	
Grandparent	
Sister's child	
Mother's brother	
Son	
Daughter	
Mother's sister	
Mother	
Father's sister	
Father's brother	
Father	
Sister.	Most formal

This is an assumed average, which would probably vary with individual cases. I doubt, however, that it would vary were it arranged by another ethnographer. Again it must be stressed that this is in terms of patterns of formalized behavior. A man would be more intimate with a sister's child than with his own child; custom allows him an easier, joking manner. But from the observations I could make, at the present time the young men

were much more interested in and showed more affection for their own children. This, then, is merely a convenient way of presenting a synopsized review of the behavior patterns of consanguineous kin.

Husband-wife.—The relation between husband and wife is taken so much for granted, is so commonplace, and varies so much, that the Kiowa-Apache were hardly able to make any generalizations. "Treat your wife right; don't whip her," or "You should love your husband," is about as articulate as they became.

One couple will usually appear affectionate, intimate, loving; another is generally cold, formal, antagonistic. There are couples who seem to vacillate from one extreme to another, being loving and intimate at one time, fighting and quarreling at another. Finally, there are those who seem to be affectionate when alone but rather formal in public. Treating a spouse with respect, reserve, and very little show of affection seems to be the proper pattern, if there can be said to be any set behavior.

This lack of uniformity may be due to the fact that this is the one relationship which could be changed if it was not satisfactory, for separation was not difficult. One could not, however, change parents, grandchildren, or affinal relatives if a marriage was permanent. In all these other relationships the patterns are more fixed.

Behavior may vary according to the type of marriage. If the families made the arrangements, the bride and groom may be almost strangers or, as in one recent case, actually antagonistic. In this latter instance there was little attempt on the part of the man to be considerate or affectionate. In cases of elopement the attitude may be quite different. Whatever the behavior, there is one definitely fixed custom: A man never uses his wife's name, and she never uses his. "Life would be short if I call my wife by her name," is what the Kiowa-Apache believes. As can be seen from the material already recorded, this indicates a formal relationship. However, there are secondary terms of affection—*cu* and *xangu*. Though there is disagreement over the actual terms, there undoubtedly were such terms used only for a wife

(or wives), and not for her sister or for a brother's wife. In the summary of the life-cycle additional attitudes will become apparent, and only a few not mentioned there specifically will be reviewed here.

A wife always followed her husband. It is a common sight today to see a woman walking a few paces behind her man (with the children usually trailing along far behind). Though at present husbands and wives may go places together, it is not unusual for them to go separately. Even the newly married of the younger generation may go their separate ways. Usually at any gathering—church, dance, or picnic—the women stay together as do the men. At the only large feasts which now occur, those following a peyote meeting, the men generally eat together and the women eat in several smaller, family groups, though ordinarily men and women eat together.

Formerly there was an economic division between the sexes: the men were hunters, raiders, fighters; the women did practically everything else, even to moving and erecting the tipi. Although women did all the menial labor, their position in Kiowa-Apache life was comparatively high. They might even possess "worship-bundles," and one woman had the important "buffalo medicine" curing power.

In-laws.—For want of a better word, "in-laws" will be used in the sense of the Kiowa-Apache *tcana*. These relationships are most clearly defined, but as in other types of behavior there are found gradations, shadings, and variations.

The most marked restriction is that between affinal relatives of the opposite sex, and the relationship that one hears most about is between son-in-law and mother-in-law, though the avoidances between a man and his daughter-in-law are equally as strict. A man would never touch his mother-in-law, look at her, talk to her, call her name, or be alone with her in a tipi. The attitude is one of utmost respect and avoidance. In a similar manner a woman avoids her son-in-law. Even some of the younger men will not use their mother-in-law's names. When such names were needed in filling out genealogies, they would get some other person to pronounce the name. The Kiowa-

Apache relationship prohibits any type of joking, which differs from the Kiowa. If these in-laws should accidentally touch each other, which apparently occurred occasionally, they would exchange gifts. The following is one of three such incidents related:

A Kiowa-Apache was once starting out on a chase and was in a great hurry. Either someone on the outside called him or he was in a hurry to get something. He hurried to the tipi door. His mother-in-law was on the outside and was just coming into his tipi. At the tipi flap they met head-on. That was very bad. The young man gave a horse to his mother-in-law, and she gave him one. This exchange was made through the wife and daughter. The incident increased their avoidance of each other. The informant does not know whether the man continued on the hunt or not, but thinks the man did.

Apparently there was nothing that could be done to set aside the avoidance. Upon occasion a woman might have to prepare food for a son-in-law. "She cook for me. Inside she will call out, 'Everything is ready for you.' In a little while she comes out, and then you beat it in and eat it quick and get out."

There is one case of a Kiowa-Apache marrying his mother-in-law (deceased wife's mother's sister). Regarding this marriage, the informant said:

I don't like it; I am ashamed. Sometimes I go in and visit this fellow. He was my brother [cousin]. I asked him, "Why you marry your mother-in-law?" This man can't say nothing. At first they were ashamed; they don't go around the camp. They invite them for breakfast or something, but they don't stay long. Someone said to the woman: "You done something wrong." "I don't know why, but this son-in-law is sure stuck on me. He sure is tough. He catches me, but I don't like it, but he always grabs me and says 'I'm going to marry you.' I sure got scared." That is Coyote's way.

When such a flagrant violation of taboos occurred, which is equivalent to incest, nothing was or apparently could be done about it. The Kiowa-Apache say that "they got used to it." The fact that the woman was not wife's mother but wife's mother's sister probably made little difference; anyone whom a wife called "mother" or "aunt" should be avoided just as the actual mother-in-law. There were undoubtedly differences depending upon circumstances of contact.

A relationship of equal intensity is that of father-in-law and daughter-in-law. One informant said, "Don't talk to them,

don't be too close, don't touch them." Nor could they use each other's names. They would never stay in the same room together unless other people were present. If they were in camp alone and the daughter-in-law cooked, the behavior would be similar to that mentioned above for mother-in-law and son-in-law. In these instances, when the women announce that the food is ready, they are not addressing their affinal relatives of the opposite sex directly; they say they are "talking to the air." This is the manner in which Kiowa "in-laws" of the opposite sex speak to one another, but the Kiowa-Apache avoid it as much as possible, though with their general disintegration they are beginning to use this "means of communication."

It is surprising to what degree of intensity these affinal avoidances have persisted. One cold, rainy, winter's day, when I was working with an old man, several women entered the front door. They came through the room and passed between the old man and myself, but one woman hesitated at the door. She started to leave again, but it was cold and disagreeable outside. The old man must have noticed her out of the corner of his eye; he certainly did not look at her. He got up and walked to the far end of the room where he stood facing the corner. The woman, his daughter-in-law, hurried through the room, whereupon the old man resumed his seat and continued with the story.¹⁷

Several times in taking pictures of family groups, the old people, their children, and grandchildren would all be together, but on no occasion would any of the male or female "in-laws" have their picture taken with them. If a younger man wanted a picture of himself, his wife, and children, then the older people would step out.

The relationship of father-in-law and son-in-law is one of respect. There is a feeling of friendship, although a certain formality exists. A father-in-law and son-in-law never joke or use

¹⁷ This incident is doubly interesting. It indicates (1) a flagrant breach of white man's etiquette, of which the Kiowa-Apache are totally ignorant and because of which they are frequently severely judged by white people, and (2) the persistence of their own good manners, which most white people denounce as silly.

each other's name. Another informant said, "Don't hardly talk to him if lots of fellows around; if alone, have right to talk to him."

During his early training a boy is constantly told to be a good man so that his father-in-law and mother-in-law will like him; to be a good hunter and bring meat to his parents-in-law. If both a man's parents and parents-in-law are in the same camp when he brings home fresh meat, he will give the kill to his father-in-law, who will then invite the boy's parents to eat or will give some of the meat to them. A boy was taught that he should work for his parents-in-law; indeed, the secondary term for father-in-law means "old man whom I follow." (Similarly, the secondary term for mother-in-law is "old woman whom I follow.")

The relationship of a mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is much the same as that of a father-in-law and a son-in-law. They have respect for each other, but do not joke or use each other's names. Should the girl call her mother-in-law's name by accident, no serious breach of etiquette occurs, and no exchange of gifts is necessary. They may, however, give presents to each other at any time, and a girl should help her mother-in-law with the work. They talk to each other, but there is a certain amount of restraint. A woman also uses secondary terms for her parents-in-law meaning "old man [or old woman] whom I follow." She is taught to work for her parents-in-law, but there is not the emphasis put on this behavior as in the case of a man, possibly because residence is usually, though by no means always, matrilineal.

This analysis of parent-in-law and child-in-law behavior indicates that a person has respect for affinal relatives of proximate generations. In addition, there are strict avoidances of those of the opposite sex of adjacent generations. The behavior to affinal relatives of the same generation differs somewhat and will now be examined.

Sibling-in-law-sibling-in-law.—The most important relationship between relatives by marriage in the same generation is

between two brothers-in-law. The following quotations, taken from various informants, will illustrate this relationship:

A man gives presents to his brother-in-law; he comes to visit you and maybe your best horse, your best clothes, your war bonnet—the best thing you got you give to him.

Can joke nice with him, but no dirty jokes; never use his name, not afraid, but don't use it.

If your sister is married, help out your brother-in-law, for someday he may be able to help you. If he is afoot and surrounded by an enemy, save him. He will do the same for you if he is worthy and brave. Whatever your sister's husband has, keep your hands off of it. These may be things he values, and he may resent your fooling with them. It may happen that, if he did not like what you did, he might take it out on your sister by being mean to her. . . . If you have a mind to give your brother-in-law something, do so. If you and your brother-in-law treat each other right, there will come a time when they will say that you two have one mind.

Before an arranged marriage can be settled, the bride's brother must be consulted. If he objects, the marriage will not take place. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage, practically giving his sister away. At the time of marriage an older brother may tell his sister to love her husband and be a good wife and not come to him in case there is trouble. A brother may even force his sister to stay with her husband. Sometimes it seems that a man is more concerned with the welfare of his brother-in-law than with his sister's, but this is probably not usually true. It should be noted that a brother-in-law is the only one of a wife's relatives who is called by the "in-law" term *tcana* in ego's generation. This will receive further comment below.

The relationship between a man and his wife's sister or his brother's wife (and the reciprocal relationship of a woman to her sister's husband or her husband's brother) is one of intimacy. These are the only persons in the affinal relationship who are not called *tcana*. The reciprocal term *zedan* is used, which is very similar to the term "wife." A male Kiowa-Apache has no sisters-in-law but a distant "wife"; and a female Kiowa-Apache has no brother-in-law but a distant "husband." These individuals tease and joke with one another. Thus a man may say to his wife's

sister that he has seen her husband with another woman, or she may tease him about his wife's having another man. Each stands in the potential relationship of spouse, and they can call each other "wife" or "husband," although the Apaches say this is only in fun. As already noted, they might indulge in sexual relations, although this probably did not often occur. If they got married, which might occur, their behavior probably became a little more formalized—at least in public, where husband and wife were expected to be reserved and respectful toward each other. In one sense the behavior of these relatives was more intimate than between husband and wife, for it was permissible for them to use each other's names freely, whereas husband and wife never use each other's personal names.

A sister-in-law-sister-in-law relationship is not nearly so well defined as that between brothers-in-law, though it seems to have been somewhat similar. These women had respect for one another and did not use one another's names. They could joke but only in a mild way. They might exchange gifts but probably did not do so very frequently. There was not nearly the feeling of indebtedness as in the behavior of brothers-in-law. The spouses of brother-in-law or sister-in-law were called "siblings" (i.e., wife's sister's husband is "brother"; wife's brother's wife is "sister," etc.) and were treated as such.

The behavior between parents of spouses is not very well defined among the Kiowa-Apache. At the time of the marriage feast presents are exchanged between the two families. An informant says: "At this feast some would shake hands, some would embrace each other. All these people would be drawn together by the marriage, and they would want to be friendly." Occasionally one family may invite the other over for a meal. If they live at some distance, they may visit each other and are hospitably entertained. During the infrequent contact there is mutual respect and courtesy shown.

The behavior toward affinal kin has now been reviewed. As among consanguineous kin, if it were possible to stratify these

relationship patterns, a series like the following might be obtained, from the point of view of a male ego:

Wife's sister	Most intimate
Brother's wife	
Grandchild's spouse	
Wife's grandparents	
Wife	
Sister's husband or wife's brother	
Son-in-law	
Father-in-law	
Wife's brother's wife ("sister")	
Daughter-in-law	
Mother-in-law	Most formal

Again this is according to the formal patterns and may vary with different individuals. It merely gives a suggestion as to customary relationships. The position of a wife is peculiar; the outward, formal pattern is one of reserve, with little show of affection or intimacy. In private the behavior between man and wife should be one of great affection and intimacy.

LIFE-CYCLE

The behavior between various pairs of relatives has been outlined. These interrelations can now be approached through a sketch of the life-cycle. This, of course, will be a summary of conditions which are unusual; a Kiowa-Apache normally receives but one name, he joins a group but once, he normally has but one wedding ceremony. These are events that are well remembered by the old men. The daily routine is more difficult to reconstruct, for it was too common, too usual, to be remembered. However, the summer camps, when the Kiowa-Apache now get together for a dance, are probably little different from the annual summer camp about sixty years ago. The change is in things material. The tents are of canvas instead of buffalo hides; the people wear store clothes and shoes instead of buckskins; the beef is obtained from local farmers instead of being hunted; cooking is sometimes done on old iron stoves instead of over open fires; there are no longer herds of horses roaming about and needing care. The social life, however—the visiting, the stories, the gossip, the games, some of the dances—is practically unchanged.

Not all people were normally engaged in the same activities. Unusual events occurred, changing the tempo or completely stopping the routine affairs at some tipis. Births, marriages, deaths, reverberated through the group but affected some families more than others. Meetings of the dancing societies or soldier bands, or certain religious rites concerned all the camp, but different families participated in varying degrees, depending upon the intimacy of relationship to the performing group. Other events, such as wars, the Scalp Dance, or the Sun Dance, affected the whole community almost to the same extent. These varying aspects of Kiowa-Apache life will now be examined.

Birth.—The Kiowa-Apache had apparently no mystical notions about conception. Either a man and woman were fertile and had children, or they did not, which apparently meant that the man was infertile. There seem to have been no charms, prayers, or ceremonies that produced children.¹⁸ There was only one thing to do: "Live long time [with her husband] and can't make nothing, only way is to get another man." With the cessation of the menstrual flow the woman or her grandfather kept count of the passage of moons, and it was known about when to expect the child. Many taboos surrounded the pregnant woman: she could not eat meat off the leg of beef, "for that meat clings to the bone, and the woman would have a hard time giving birth to the child"; nor could she eat fat, "because that baby has white stuff all over it and makes the birth dry." In addition to a number of other foods that were prohibited, there were certain actions which were harmful: "can't sit with back to sun because afterbirth sticks, they say it burns to you if you do that; don't put no kind of child on your lap because it will cause the

¹⁸ Menstruation, pregnancy, and birth were closely associated with the phases of the moon: "New moon, that's time woman have her blood, or maybe with full moon. Woman says, 'I got monthly: next new moon I didn't have no monthly; she keeps track; maybe nine or ten moons that baby come. It comes with the moon. Great thing when woman see new moon for they say, 'I come with moon.'" Another frequent expression was that "children are made when the new moon comes up." The moon was thought of as female, and in the moon you could see a woman with a newborn baby on a travois. A man or a woman may have prayed to the moon: "I sure need baby," but unless "she sneak around with another man and he fool with her, that's how she get it."

baby inside to sit up so it will be hard to come"; and others. Some foods, such as soup, were helpful; certain actions such as urinating downstream were beneficial.

At delivery the mother was assisted by older women—one of whom was in charge—who were known for their experience and helpfulness. They may or may not have been relatives, but the girl's mother, mother-in-law, and sisters were present at least. Usually female relatives of spouses were brought together at the birth of a child. There were one or two old women who had special medicines for childbirth, "a herb which they gave to the women as a kind of tea in hot water." When the mother was having an unusually difficult labor, a medicine man might be called in to perform a ceremony which would aid in delivery, but before the child was born he would rush from the tipi.

For four days after birth the mother kept to the tipi, and only gradually, as she felt like it, did she assume normal duties.

The umbilical cord was kept and placed in a small beaded pouch; the placenta was buried. Sometimes abortion was practiced, particularly by married women who had a small suckling child. There is some confusion in beliefs regarding the behavior toward twins, but at least in some manner they were set apart. Usually they were thought to have more power.

The paternal grandmother usually made the cradle; if she did not, then the maternal grandmother or some other relative made it. Sometimes the mother got a buckskin belt from her grandmother which she wore to keep her figure in shape.

A few days after the birth a feast was given for the old women who had assisted, and the relatives on both sides of the family were invited. At this dinner four presents were given to the old woman in charge and to each of her assistants, the character of the gifts depending upon the wealth of the family. Either at this time or at another feast given later, each of the old women would pick up the child and pray for its welfare, stressing the wish for long life and good health.

Naming.—Young children as a rule had no names, "because they might die and then the name would have to be avoided." There was no set age or time when names were given. The par-

ents or grandparents would decide that the child ought to have a name. A feast was prepared for "all the people," and some old man who had achieved a reputation for giving good names was called upon to name the child. The old man selected a name himself or gave a family name. In the presence of all the people he prayed for the child who stood before him, and then, raising the child up four times, he announced the name by which he was to be known. The old man who did this was given a horse or other presents. This was one of the very few occasions when an individual was singled out and given social recognition. Names were occasionally changed for various reasons, such as sickness, but usually this was done privately, or more or less quietly, and apparently was not of great social importance. Even though people possessed these formal names, they might not be called by them but by some nickname. The formal names belonged to families and could not be used by another kin group. However, permission might be obtained and compensation made, and the name would then come into the possession of another group. The name of a deceased person was avoided; also words in the language which were identical. After a time, possibly a few years, the name might again be used, being given to some younger member of the family.

Rabbit Society.—Every child belonged to the "Rabbits," or *Kasowe*. Every child was called a "Rabbit," and even today, when the older men become disgruntled with the behavior of some of the younger men, they say, "They are just Rabbits, they don't know anything." The Rabbits were one of the four dancing groups, or societies, of the Kiowa-Apache—the last to cease functioning and consequently the one about which most is known. Since it included every child, boy or girl, and influenced them during the formative years until they became young men and women and were either initiated into another group or because of age and size took a less active part, it was one of the most important social forces in Kiowa-Apache life.

Here only a summary can be given of the procedure. There was no formal initiation into the dance. Parents brought newborn babes to derive the benefits of this "worship," and as soon

as a child was able, he participated actively in the dance. There was no set time for the meetings, though they probably occurred more frequently in the summer when the tribe was likely to be together and the necessary "bundle-owner" was available. The meetings occurred as the result of a pledge made by parents when their child was sick or for his future welfare. On the morning of the dance the family prepared a large dinner, and the bundle-owner announced the dance. This was an invitation to the entire camp, but to the youngsters in particular. All the children gathered in the tipi of the people who were giving the ceremony. The sides of the tipi were rolled up, and the parents and visitors sat around outside watching. The bundle-owner sat on the west, and the tipi was filled with children. The child who had been ill, or who was being honored, was seated just before, but with his back to, the bundle-owner. When all the children had assembled, the bundle-owner placed his hand on each of the honored child's shoulders and began to pray:

This boy is sick, he is all right now; so he could step on this earth all right. The grass grows; so he be with it and don't get sick no more. This wild fruit grows; that is the way you going to grow up. These wild fruit gets ripe; may you grow up and be ripe.

The old man prayed a long time, endlessly repeating. After the prayer for the health and long life of the one child in particular, and the Rabbits in general, the dance began. Any two middle-aged men acted as assistants to the bundle-owner, singing and drumming. One of the older boys was selected to be the "bull." The bull had a whip and knife, and if any child did not dance, he not only threatened to whip him but could do so; and at the end of the dance, if a child had not participated, the bull cut his clothing or his hair. "They can't get mad because all the Rabbits jump on them and tear their clothes." The dance could be stopped by a boy's going up to one of the drums and hitting it: "Wait now, I'm going to tell you a story. Way down there I kill rabbit [he hits the drum]; over there I kill a bird [he hits the drum]; over there I pick up a turtle [drum]. There is my witness." He indicates some friend who had been with him. This type of boastful behavior, so characteristic of Kiowa-

Apache, was encouraged. In dancing, the children imitated rabbits, hopping up and down with bent knees and with hands slightly cupped and held up beside their heads in imitation of rabbit ears. (Sometimes they wore rabbit ears attached to their clothing.) Throughout the dancing and feasting there was much horseplay and occasionally obscenity. The children made fun of the old man and poked him with sticks. At times he pretended to be asleep; they hit him, and he jumped up, starting to dance. Whenever dancing the old man always faced west, his back to the group. He wore only a loin cloth, which he pulled aside as he sang the Rabbit song: "When rabbit runs to creek, you see his white buttocks." The big girls and many of the visitors on the outside were embarrassed and ran away, "but the little ones they look up and watch . . . and laugh." When the dance was finished around noon, a large dish with food was brought in and a prayer said, "so that what they eat will make them live long and be healthy." The food was passed from child to child in a definitely prescribed manner; the first time each took four spoonfuls, but the next time they ate as much as they could. In fact, there was a contest to see which side could eat the most. The old man watched, and when the dishes had been taken out, he announced the winners. The winning side had the privilege of mauling the other side. There was a general scramble until they had all run out of the tipi, so ending the ceremony.

In this group the child had contact with all other Kiowa-Apache children—practically all the people with whom he would be most intimately associated for the rest of his life. A close relationship was thus established with those of his age, including those slightly older and younger in the tribe. As the children were encouraged by their elders to express themselves during the meetings of the Rabbits, everyone could form judgments of the ability and character of the younger members of the tribe. A child was able to form opinions of his associates—opinions which might be helpful in later years. The child also learned social discipline in having to respect the established social forms (the procedure of the dance) and in having to obey the "bull" who was his temporary leader. More important, he learned to re-

spect and obey the old leader, the permanent leader, who owned the most important medicine bundle in the tribe. Though the bundle was never formally introduced in the Rabbit Dance and was in no manner directly connected with the dance, the owner, who was the most respected of the Kiowa-Apache and of whom no one could say evil, regardless of their private opinion, was thus intimately associated with all the children as their permanent leader. The behavior of the old man when he danced undoubtedly affirmed this intimate relationship. He was one of them; his behavior was typical of acts common to the children who had not yet learned Kiowa-Apache modesty, just as small children among white men behave similarly among themselves and without shame. Furthermore, while probably not unusual among children, this behavior was antisocial when committed by an adult and particularly in public. Its being sanctioned in this dance emphasized the unusualness and importance of the meeting. The sacredness of the occasion was stressed by this obscenity. Undoubtedly the Rabbit Dance, establishing such close relationships through a common rite with the same age group and binding them all so intimately with the leader of the most sacred of Kiowa-Apache worships, was one of the most important, if not the most important, of integrating forces for the tribe as a whole.

Until the children were in their late teens, they might continue to participate in the Rabbit Dance. There was no set time or rite which severed their connection with the dance, or announced their entrance into manhood or womanhood, but gradually they began to participate in adult affairs.

Adolescence and training.—No social recognition was taken of menstruation, either the first time or at any other time. The first time a girl menstruated her mother and sisters knew of it, and usually her father, but rarely anyone else. For four days a girl was supposed to stay close to the tipi because she was "ashamed." A woman had more freedom and went about her usual duties but refrained as much as possible from visiting other tipis. Only the medicine men had strict taboos, for they were afraid of blood. No menstruating woman, either relative or

nonrelative, could enter a bundle tipi, nor could a bundle-owner eat food prepared by a menstruating woman. Also, at the time of new moon and full moon¹⁹ the medicine men avoided the path to the creek, which had undoubtedly been trodden by menstruating women. Ordinarily a man did not have intercourse with his wife during the usual four days of her period, but he shared the same bed, ate the food she prepared, and continued in every way the regular daily activities and contacts. Presumably the husband was the only one who knew when a woman menstruated.

There was no formal training of children. They learned by watching, by the stories which were told around the fires in the evening, or through experience; and thus they gradually and unconsciously absorbed the culture which was all about them. Listening to the old men, the child obtained a complete review of ideal Kiowa-Apache life. When children were old enough to understand, a father talked to them, instructing them in the "good road, the right way to live."

In addition to the occasion on which a child received a name, or when the Rabbit Dance was being given in his honor, or when he told of his accomplishments during the dance, there was usually another time that a child was singled out for social recognition. This was at the time of a boy's first kill, or when a girl tanned her first hide, made her first pair of moccasins, or accomplished some other woman's task for the first time. Then the grandfather or the mother's brother, if he were wealthy, gave a horse to some poor old man or woman who went through the camp crying out the accomplishments of the young person, usually displaying the kill or the handiwork. A feast may also have been given at that time if the parents loved their child and could afford the display.

Children were continually encouraged to express themselves and participate in tribal affairs. The older male relatives of a boy would take him along on short hunting trips, teaching him to shoot, to stalk, to track. Precocious children seem to have been encouraged, and participation in adult life depended upon

¹⁹ The usual time women menstruate, according to Kiowa-Apache belief.

ability. Usually in his late teens a boy would begin going on raiding and war parties—activities which seem to have concerned him primarily during his twentieth to his thirtieth years. This was a period of intense physical activity and, to an extent, great freedom and license. Around thirty most men were married, and the outstanding ones were asked to join one of the societies.

Marriage.—Bachelors and old maids are practically nonexistent in Kiowa-Apache culture.²⁰ A wife was almost a necessity. Not only did she care for the tipi, cook, tan hides, make clothes and moccasins, but she bore children. A man without children was a “nobody,” whereas a man with a good wife and children amounted to something. Consequently, as noted above, a boy was told to behave so that people would talk about him and let him marry their daughter. Similarly, all girls expected to be married and were told to conduct themselves so that they would be attractive and get a good man. A husbandless woman had little or no place in this culture. The husband-wife relationship was of the utmost importance.

Marriage occurred comparatively late, but sexual experience undoubtedly began early. Theoretically the parents, brothers, and other kin were supposed to watch a girl, some older female relative chaperoning her after she reached maturity. But a boy and a girl interested in each other could find occasions to meet. Frequently the boy would arrange with the girl to slip into her tipi at night. One informant laughingly recalled one such experience. As he was crawling into the tipi, the girl’s mother caught him and recognized him. The girl’s father invited him in to “marry” the girl, but he ran away. However, he did not intend having his fun spoiled, so he crept back to the tipi door to wait until he was certain the parents were asleep. In waiting he fell asleep, and there they found him next morning, when he again took to his heels.

²⁰ I can find only one instance in the past of an old maid, and she was a hunchback. There are now two young women who may remain unmarried. One, who is said to be around thirty, is rather fat and exceedingly shy, which behavior is in marked contrast to the usual attitude. The other, twenty years old, has a dislocated hip. Both girls are becoming conspicuous since they have never been “out,” and neither has had a sweetheart.

Though this type of courting was probably general, it was not recognized. Supposedly the young men and women remained chaste until marriage,²¹ which was an arrangement between families. The bride and groom may not even have known each other previously. The families were interested in the union, for it brought two groups of people into a series of relationships which usually were mutually beneficial. The immediate kin were particularly concerned and had much to say when a spouse was chosen. Aside from the desire to be united with an important family, or to capable young people, the only restriction was a prohibition against marriage within the immediate kin group. This not only prohibited marriages with blood-kin but with close classificatory relations, such as the children of two "friends" who called and considered themselves "brothers" and "sisters."

There was actually no outer restriction, but the Kiowa-Apache were usually endogamous. Even though they were politically and ceremonially associated with the Kiowa, marriage with that tribe was not frequent. On rare occasions marriage occurred with other tribes: Arapaho, Cheyenne, Comanche, or others. When this happened, either the Kiowa-Apache went to live with the other tribe and soon became absorbed by that group, or the spouse from these tribes was absorbed by the Apaches. More often, women were captured from other tribes and taken as wives. The preferred marriage, however, was with a distantly related Kiowa-Apache with good family connections.

The inner boundary of marriage prohibition was the family group; the outer limit was the tribe. But both boundaries might be transgressed without seriously disturbing tribal customs, or without any punishment being inflicted. Even such incestuous unions as those between a man and his father's sister or mother-in-law, though frowned upon, occurred. The couple was shamed, however, and avoided social contacts until the people became accustomed to their marriage. Becoming accustomed to the embarrassing relationship meant that the relatives accepted it by rearranging their kinship ties. Where the conflict was such

²¹ Possibly the missionary attitude and the ideal white point of view have influenced informants, so that they are usually inclined to ignore these illicit relationships when talking about marriage.

that adjustments could not be made, avoidance relations were set up. Such an incestuous marriage was a great hardship on the contracting couple, but if they were sufficiently fond of each other, they could eventually live down the social censure. Marriages of this type were exceedingly rare and in the instances mentioned above, of marriage to father's sister and mother-in-law, did not last long. Such marriages would never be arranged by families but were "elopements."

There were at least two types of marriage. The most approved form, but not necessarily the most common, at least until recently, was a marriage which had been arranged by families, the parents choosing spouses for their children. The initiative could be taken by either family, though usually the boy's parents made the advances. A man might express a choice to his parents, who then approached the girl's parents for him.²² As a girl's older brother had much authority over her, his consent was usually necessary before a marriage was arranged. It was said that, if the brother were on a raid, they might have to wait several months to obtain his consent. If the proposal were accepted, the groom's relatives gathered as many presents as they could and, forming a group, brought them to the girl's parents. The acceptance of these gifts—and usually a feast given for the whole camp in honor of the couple—validated the marriage. Shortly thereafter the girl's relatives, who had accepted the gifts, gathered together an equal or even greater number of presents for the groom's relatives, at which exchange another feast was usually held. The bride and groom had no share in this exchange, which seems to have been a means of bringing the two families into closer relationship. Though the Kiowa-Apache had no fixed rule in the exchange of gifts, the bride's relatives usually gave dishes and other household equipment, and the groom's people gave horses, saddles, weapons, clothing. The girl's parents usually gave a tipi and furnishings to the young couple. Other relatives might give them additional equipment to begin housekeeping, but this had nothing to do with the formal exchange between respective relatives of the newly married couple.

²² This is sometimes considered as another form of marriage.

Another type of marriage was that of elopement. The boy and the girl would run away, perhaps to some near-by relative. When this occurred, the girl's parents had the right to go to the boy's parents and take whatever they wished, even to the tipi they were living in. Later gifts must be exchanged.

Temporary unions undoubtedly occurred, but the Kiowa-Apache does not recognize them as marriages. In other words, retrospectively at least, a marriage was a lasting arrangement, and for that reason divorce is said to have occurred but seldom. At present innumerable trial marriages occur, lasting from a few days to as much as a year or longer. Only when it appears that a union will be lasting is it reported to the agency. In recording genealogies these temporary unions are generally not remembered, just as none of the old informants remembered how many children had been born to them, as so many had died in infancy. From the materials gathered, every Kiowa-Apache now living has been married more than once; some remarriages having occurred after the death of a spouse. Many Kiowa-Apache indulge in extra-marital intercourse, but so long as it is only a temporary relationship, it has little or no effect upon the marriage. There is little prudery, sentiment, or secrecy connected with sex.

There was no fixed rule regarding residence; the couple lived with, or had their tipi near, one family and then the other. However, matrilocal residence seems to have been most common, but among a roving people place of residence and change of residence may not be very important. Marriage may not have necessitated a change from one community to another for either spouse but may have meant merely a change of dwelling.

Polygyny was practiced but was not very common. Three wives seem to have been the most that any man had at one time. In all polygynous unions noted in the genealogies, the wives were sisters. The formalities observed at the first marriage were not repeated when additional sisters were married. The first wife is said to be the most important. Parents-in-law who had a good son-in-law might give another (usually younger) daughter to the man. Or the young woman might suggest that she also marry her sister's husband because she thought him

desirable or because she loved her sister and wanted to live with her.

Divorce was simple when there were no children and the marriage had not lasted long. It meant merely a cessation of relations between the man and the woman, each going back to his or her own relatives. A brother might attempt to force his sister to return if she had taken the initiative, but only if he thought she was at fault. Separation is said to have been very infrequent, but this undoubtedly refers to marriages that had lasted for some years. When it occurred in these cases, it was probably because one of the couple was interested in a third party. In adultery a woman's only recourse was to leave an unfaithful husband, but a man had the right to inflict punishment upon his wife, such as cutting off her hair or the tip of her nose. Her relatives would not interfere. Furthermore, the husband could destroy part or all of the property of a wife's lover. Such actions are said to have frequently resulted in a feud between the men in which each swore to kill the other. It is probable, however, that, aside from the destruction of some of the adulterer's property (a horse or two), few or none of the sanguinary acts were carried out. The woman and her lover could seek sanctuary in a bundle-owner's tipi, where they could not be harmed. The bundle-owner was then asked by the adulterer's relatives, or even the woman's relatives, to take a pipe to the angry husband who could not refuse to smoke. Once having smoked, the husband could not harbor resentment; he was forced to be peaceful, if not friendly, and would probably divorce his wife. Usually when the husband was asked to smoke, he was given presents by the adulterer's relatives.

There is one instance of a woman who sought sanctuary in a bundle-owner's tipi, fleeing from an angered husband who threatened to cut off her nose. As her relatives refused to intercede, the woman remained in the tipi day after day until the bundle-owner of his own accord took a pipe to her husband, in order to be rid of the woman. In case of divorce the younger children would stay with the mother; the older children usually lived with whom they pleased, sometimes staying with the fa-

ther or his relatives, or at other times with the mother or her relatives.

As noted above, after marriages were once established and the children were growing up, separation seldom occurred. One's position in the social structure had then become relatively fixed, and separation required new adjustments, not only to the family of procreation, but to the families of orientation. Changes of this type were resisted, and social force in the form of public opinion and behavior was so potent that separations were rare.

Even in the present disintegrated conditions, divorce between old couples is frowned upon, though it is very common and relatively unnoticed among the young people. One relatively old couple had been married about twenty-three years and there were six living children when the woman left with another man. Feeling ran very high, but some degree of harmony was restored when the lover gave the deserted husband eighty acres of land. However, after five years the Kiowa-Apache, though ostensibly friendly to the couple, still resent the new marriage.

The disruption of the family was so disastrous that provision might be said to have been made to maintain its integrity even in the face of death. If a man died, his brother should take care of the widow and, if possible, marry her. Similarly, if a woman died, her sister would usually care for the children, and it was considered a desirable arrangement if the widower could marry his deceased wife's sister. In these marriages (forms of the levirate and sororate) very few adjustments had to be made. There was no change whatever in relationships, no new relatives, no change in kinship terminology. The only adjustment which might have been made was between the newly married man and woman, who had been in a secondary husband-wife relationship previously and now became actual husband and wife. However, sexual relations may already have made them intimate, so that often no adjustments were needed. There might have been a change in residence, but that was very insignificant in the life of a nomadic people. In the event that levirate and sororate marriages were not possible, the adjustments were even more complex than ordinary marriages, for the family of the

deceased spouse was interested. (This will be discussed under death and mourning customs.)

From this discussion of marriage it should be evident that there were no clans among the Kiowa-Apache nor any clearly defined descent group. Inheritance, succession, and descent follow no absolute rules but do follow certain tendencies which will become clearer as this analysis continues. About the time that a man was married, particularly if he promised to be outstanding in tribal affairs, he was taken into a dancing group or society. There were two such adult groups among the Kiowa-Apache; the *Manatidie* and the *Klintidie*.

Manatidie.—Although it was an honor to belong to the *Manatidie*, one of the two adult male societies or dancing groups, men tried to avoid becoming members. The duties were irksome, the dances were long and arduous, and one had to be brave, which was "dangerous."²³ When it was known that a meeting was going to be held and that new members might be taken in, the young men fled from the camp, but sooner or later the desirable men were caught. Two of the leaders, the *bacaye*, slipped up on a prospective member and dragged him from whatever he was doing, after which he could not refuse to join the group. The relatives of a new member gave a feast to the society and brought presents for the leaders. No women belonged to the group, though the wives of members took an active interest in

²³ Bravery is always stressed; it is one of the greatest virtues of Kiowa-Apache society as well as of other Plains tribes, but one gets the feeling, when talking to the old men, that the pattern requiring the leaders to stand their ground even though they be killed was "expecting too much." This may, however, be a comparatively recent attitude since after the introduction of firearms a man's physical powers and boldness were of little avail. An even later change may be reflected by one informant, a generation younger, who said that it was a great honor to belong to one of the adult societies and that a man might give a horse to get in. This may be his conception of the initiation fees, or it may reflect the attitude of a period when warfare had been suppressed by the government and the societies had ceased to function except in an honorary capacity. Apparently this honorary recognition was of little importance, for as soon as the tribe seems to have been peacefully settled on a reservation, these societies no longer met. None of the old men living belonged to the *Klintidie*, and only the three oldest men (although some younger men claim to belong) knew anything about the *Manatidie*.

the meetings and always went with their husbands, sitting back of them but outside the tipi. They even joined in the singing and dancing, though never mingling with the men. There were between twenty and fifty male members, usually an even number since the members were paired, each having a special partner who was supposed to be his best "friend." These partners sat together, fought together, danced together, painted themselves alike, helped each other in every way; their children were as brother and sister.

There were several officials: the four staff-bearers or chiefs, the two *bacaye*, and the "bull." The four chiefs sat on the west side with their staffs planted in the ground before them. They seem to have been the directors, choosing new members, sending the *bacaye* on errands, and setting the date for a dance. They had to be especially brave in battle, seeking the most dangerous positions, and if they planted their spears, standing by them. They held this leadership for life. The "bull" was the chief of the dance; everyone had to obey him unless he delegated his powers to someone else. His official badge was a whip to which was attached the whole skin of a red fox. The *bacaye* performed what might be considered menial labor, but this was not classed as such in these meetings.²⁴ They caught the new members, spied on the wives of members during all-night meetings, fixed the fire, and brought water and tobacco. During some of the dances they led the staff-bearers, of whom they "were not afraid."

Meetings were held at any time of the year, usually before raiding or war parties set out. Usually the four chiefs decided upon the time and place, which was kept a secret as long as possible. Sometimes as the result of a vow, or to honor a relative, someone gave a feast. When a member died, permission

²⁴ The position of "fire chief" in the present peyote meetings is one of honor, yet it is hardly an enviable office. He has to keep the fire burning all night and the ashes neatly placed in the form of a bird's wings; he brings a glowing stick to light the cigarette of any member who smokes; he removes the cigarette butts and keeps the tipi clean; he runs errands for the leader—all of this in addition to the regular singing and drumming, which in itself is no mean task, and, of course, he partakes of the peyote.

had to be obtained from his closest male relative, to whom the whole organization brought gifts, before the next dance was held. There seems to have been only one set time for a meeting—an annual spring dance at which time the four staffs were ceremonially re-wrapped with buck sinew and covered with otter-skin. The group then danced through the camp, shooting blunted arrows into the air, and killing, and later eating, any dog that crossed their path. Other meetings were held in a tipi, with the sides rolled up, or in an especially constructed windbreak, where everyone watched the dancing. There was nothing secret about the group; they had many songs and four dance steps, and usually used eight drums. All members had to participate. In the tipi or dance circle, they either sat on the south side, or went by way of the south side to their places on the north side. In leaving, those on the north side went out first, followed by those on the south side, who went around by way of the north side. In dancing they also moved in a clockwise direction, except for the "bull" who took up stations in a counter-clockwise movement at the east, north, west, and south, from which points he supervised the dancing. Members dressed themselves very carefully for meetings. Special designs were painted on exposed portions of the body, and the hair was worn loose except for the scalp lock, to which was attached a long strip of buckskin trailing on the ground. The headdress consisted of turkey "whiskers," eagle feathers, and a deer tail dyed red. They wore short skirts of spotted fawnskin. When they were painted and dressed for the meetings, they were privileged to have sexual intercourse with any woman they met who did not avoid them. She could not object.

Special mention should be made of the four ceremonial staffs, lances, or spears. Two were crook-shaped and two Y-shaped. At regular intervals were placed eagle, road-runner, or goose feathers, taken from birds which were caught without being wounded. As mentioned above, the staffs were ceremonially re-wrapped in buck sinew and otter-skin at each spring dance. They were used in fighting and when once pointed at the enemy had to be used effectively. They could not touch the ground,

and if one were accidentally dropped, it had to be picked up by some warrior who could recite a brave deed as he returned it to the owner. However, they could be laid down if they were placed on a row of buffalo chips or the points stuck through a chip into the ground. They were never destroyed but passed on to a successor, who was preferably, but not necessarily, a brother, son, or grandson of the owner. Usually, therefore, these four chieftainships belonged to certain families, being inherited in the male line. When considered in the broad classificatory sense, it was probably not difficult to find a brave and highly thought-of male relative.

Certain duties fell to this society, most important of which were those generally known as "policing." When the camp was moving, the *Manatidie* kept order, allowing no one to break ranks to hunt. During the communal hunts of buffalo, antelope, or deer, they enforced the tribal rules. If anyone disobeyed, they could whip him, kill his horse, or destroy his property. No one could object, for if he did, he was punished even more. If he took his punishment good-naturedly, then the society might later give a dance in his honor or give him presents. The *Manatidie* also seem to have acted as a charitable organization, to whom poor people could come for aid. They never raided, fought, or hunted as a group. Sometimes they had contests among themselves, or sometimes as individuals challenged members of the *Klintidie*, in which case each society cheered for its own members. But there were no organized contests nor any antagonism between these two groups, nor any privileged license with the wives of the other group as is sometimes found on the Plains.

Klintidie.—The *Klintidie* is the other men's society. Only the oldest and bravest men belonged to this group, which was small, usually having ten to sixteen members. As in the *Manatidie*, men did not wish to belong, though it was an honor to do so, and ran away from camp at the time of meetings to avoid, if possible, being asked to join. As the group was composed of older men, they were all married, and their wives, though they did not actually belong to the society, went with their husbands

to meetings. The members were paired, and if they did not get along they would change, for partners should be as "blood-brothers."

Apparently, there were a number of individuals, possibly four, who were considered as leaders. One informant said they were called the "dogs." There was another official, the "owl-man," who will be discussed below. The meetings occurred at any time and lasted from one to four days. The time of the dance was announced several days in advance, and all members had to attend or they were publicly ridiculed by fellow-members, who cried out, "You are going to marry your mother-in-law." Usually the dance was held in a tipi.

The leaders wore bands which passed over the left shoulder and under the right arm, trailing on the ground. Two were painted red, and two black. A man could let his partner wear his band. Each man wore a headdress of split owl feathers, and sometimes a bunch of owl feathers was tied to the shoulder. Each had a deer-hoof rattle and an eagle-bone whistle which was blown during the dancing and "when they were mad." A member was never supposed to get angry, even if another man was flirting with his wife, but if his indignation was overcoming him, he obtained relief by blowing on his bone whistle.

The outstanding characteristic of this society was its "contrary" nature. The members talked "backward," as it is usually termed. A command to retreat meant "charge"; to stop meant "to continue." Thus, when they were dancing outside and someone said to them, "Don't dance in that water," they were obliged to go into the creek with full regalia—an event which occurred at one of the last dances held. If during a battle the Kiowa-Apache were losing and everyone was crying out to run, the *Klintidie* had to charge, unless someone noticed their predicament and commanded them "to charge." Only then could they retreat.

In battle they were supposed to be very brave. They would ride up to the thickest of the fight and jump off their pony, slapping it to make it run away. Those wearing the trailing bands would "plant" themselves at a dangerous spot by sticking an

arrow through the end of the band. Only another person could release them by pulling out the arrow and telling them to "stay there."

This group is thought of as being intimately bound up with "worship." Smoking, primarily a sacred ritual, and praying were a part of each meeting. In case of general illness or epidemics the dance was held and prayers made. One informant says: "They usually prayed to the medicine bundles which had been given them by their fathers. They prayed to everything: trees, grasses, water, anything that our fathers made. They worshipped with this dance."

The most significant manifestation of the relation of the *Klintidie* to religion is its connection with the owl. Of all animals, including the buffalo, the owl is the most mysterious, the most sacred. "Owl," "ghost," and "spirit" are indicated by the same term. It has already been noted that owl feathers were used as a headdress and were sometimes worn on the shoulder. If an owl hooted, or someone imitated the hooting of an owl the morning after an all-night dance, the *Klintidie* would have to continue dancing for another day. In battle, if someone hooted like an owl, they would have to stand their ground. One of the leaders, probably their most outstanding man, was called the "owl-man" or the "ghost-man." Sometimes during large gatherings he would completely disrobe; he might even have sexual intercourse with a woman publicly. He was privileged to cohabit with any woman who did not keep away from him. But if a woman could not avoid him, she could protect herself by saying, "Do it to me," and then he could not touch her. After a public exhibition of this sort, he would carefully dress himself and then pray for the health and happiness of all. During the meetings of the *Klintidie* this man might arise, remove his loin cloth, pull up his blanket, and back up to each member, exposing his private parts. Women were present. When he took his seat, "he shook out his breech cloth which looked like an owl. When he did that, it meant that they were going to dance four days and nights." This is perhaps another instance of the sacred's being set apart and made awesome by shocking or antisocial conduct.

These several dancing societies are not age-grade associations. It is true that the children belonged to the Rabbits, the middle-aged men to the *Manatidie*, and the old men to the *Klintidie*, but they are not a series of grades. A man could be taken into the last without ever having belonged to the second; or a man could be claimed by the *Manatide* from the *Klintidie*. Though all Kiowa-Apache were Rabbits, some could go through life without ever being asked to join one of the adult groups. However, an important person could hardly escape them.

Izuwe.—Among the women there was but one society, the *Izuwe*, practically unknown today by even the oldest men and women, largely because it was a secret organization. About twenty of the oldest women belonged, and one old man.

The meetings were held in a tipi put up by some man who had been successful on a war party and who, before he left, had asked the old women to pray for his success. When he returned and had erected the tipi, he filled a pipe and held it to the mouth of each of these old women, who smoked in turn and (by implication) prayed for him again. The dances were usually held when a raiding party returned. The tipi was divided by a partition put up near the door, making a small anteroom, so that anyone trying to look through the door could not see what was going on in the meeting. The old man, who was the only male member, sat on the west side, singing and "drumming." The "drumming" was done by rubbing a dried buffalo hide with "something," which made a "washboard sound, zuh, zuh, zuh," from which the organization got its name. The old man covered himself with a blanket, and no one saw how he made the sounds. When he began, the women danced but did not join him in singing. On each side of their heads the women wore feathers which resembled horns, and their faces were painted red with black markings. When a woman died, a female relative (daughter, niece, or sister) was chosen to succeed her. So far as is now known, the novice did not have to give presents or a feast for the society.

Most of the information regarding this group was obtained from one old man whose mother had been a member. When a boy, he and another youngster were peeping in the meeting

when a woman saw them and said, "Coyotes, come in." The women sat still. They didn't say anything. Taho (my informant) and his friend went in and sat down. One woman then said, "Our enemy has come in."²⁵ The old man prayed for them and said, "It is good you came in here; you will live to be old men." The old man "drummed," and the women danced. The boys watched. The women began dancing up to the boys, pecking them and cawing like crows. They did this many times. Finally, they came up and grabbed the boys and threw them down. They stripped their clothes off and sat all over them. The women pecked them all over. It hurt a great deal. What the women did made them (the boys) smell very bad. Finally the boys got mad, fought, got away, and ran home.

This group had nothing to do with the Sun Dance, but during the Scalp Dance they would bite the scalp, wrist, ear, or whatever else the men had brought home to show for their triumphs. It is said that the group had some connection with religion. "People asked the *Izuwe* to pray for the sick"; "this group worshipped nature." Unfortunately, very little is known about them now, so that the many questions which come to mind cannot be answered.

Death, mourning, and remarriage.—Sickness and death were the result of a number of causes. One of the most important was "witching," a power possessed by a few individuals who were greatly feared by the Kiowa-Apache. Natural causes were also recognized. "The sickness kills you, but all kinds of sickness was not 'witching.' You might [also] get killed in war or drowned." Infants and old people "just died," and there was little or no attempt to explain such deaths; it was the death of persons in their prime which concerned them, and the concept of "power" seems to have been associated with all such deaths. A young warrior killed in battle had undoubtedly met an enemy, not necessarily superior physically, but with greater power.

When a person was sick, the medicine man or doctor was

²⁵ My interpreter, who seldom made any attempt to explain what the old men said, stopped to point out that the woman meant that all men were their enemies.

called in by the family. Usually the charges for curing were very high, and a number of relatives had to contribute. A family that could get together a good deal of wealth could hire a well-known doctor.²⁶ When a person was very ill and felt he was going to die, he called his relatives to him and gave away some of his ponies or possibly some "medicine" (the right to use some herb) or something else by which he was to be remembered. These bequests were made to any close relative, but a brother was usually singled out to be given ponies. The tails of these horses were bobbed and the manes cut, and they were given exceptionally good care. They were never ridden except into battle where it was a great honor to the deceased owner if they were killed. When a man returned from battle without his deceased brother's pony, the relatives again wailed and lamented. Sometimes they did this when they saw the horse around the camp, for it reminded them of their relative.

The infant mortality rate was extremely high, and the death of a baby was scarcely noticed. A child was mourned by its parents and possibly a few very close relatives. As a person became older, more relatives and friends were concerned. When an adult died, the nearest relatives tore their clothes (sometimes going almost naked and exposing their private parts), gashed their arms and legs until the blood covered them, and sometimes cut off a little finger or shaved the head. Usually women were more demonstrative than men. The extent to which a person expressed his grief seemed to depend upon the closeness of the relationship.

Burial occurred as soon after death as possible—before sundown if a person died during the day, the next day if he died during the night. The body was washed with yucca suds, dressed in the best clothes the individual had, and wrapped in buffalo robes. This was done by any relative, but usually by females. If an outsider helped, which was not likely, she was given a present. Usually dead bodies were avoided as much as possible, being greatly feared. The corpse was removed through the side of the tipi, never through the door, placed on a travois, and taken

²⁶ Curing rites will be discussed in a later publication.

to some isolated place where a shallow grave had been prepared. Generally only the close relatives followed the travois, but if a stranger attended he was given a present. The corpse was placed in the grave, or in a crevice in the rocks, and stones and cactus put on top to keep the wolves and coyotes from destroying it. Usually one or more of the deceased's ponies were killed at the grave by being pierced in the chest. "Blood would come out, and when the horse was about to die it would wobble, and the widow would grab it around the neck and fall with it. Blood would get all over her." The place of burial was unimportant, with one exception—bodies were never buried near a stream for fear they would be washed out. The grave was seldom, if ever, revisited; in fact, it was usually avoided.

Some of the personal belongings of the deceased might be placed in the grave, such as his shield and weapons, but most of the property, such as the tipi, tipi poles, clothing, utensils, etc., were burned. A medicine man's paraphernalia was destroyed, but never the worship bundles. These descended to the closest male relative, a person whom the owner had presumably trained and designated as the heir. In the absence of a close male relative, a woman might be keeper, as in the case of two of the four bundles at present, though it is doubtful if a woman could perform the rites associated with the bundle. While the shield was buried with the owner, the right to make a similar shield seems to have been inherited. The heraldic tipis were not destroyed but also passed to a brother, son, or other male relative. Certain curing powers, those associated with the use of herbs primarily, were usually passed on, sometimes long before death, to relatives, either male or female. Probably the right to use these herbs was formerly purchased. A man's position in a dancing society was not inherited, but a woman's place in the *Izuwe* was passed on to a female relative.

There were no definite purification rites nor a set period of mourning. Those who had handled the body might wash themselves in the creek, but not if they had cuts. Fat was put upon the cuts, and such persons did not wash until the cuts were healed. When returning from the grave they might get sage and

rub it over themselves. Usually cedar or a root called "medicine fat" was put on the tipi fire during the first night. "At night-time they use some kind of root. They break it up and put it in the fire, so nothing bothers them. It is just like you could see the dead. They put this in the fire. You could think of him in your mind." However, cedar and medicine fat were put into the fire at other times, without reference to death. These might be construed as purification rites, or the survivals of such rites, or even as their rudiments, but the old men do not remember anything fixed or compulsory about such conduct.

The day following a death the whole camp moved. The immediate relatives of the deceased lived somewhat apart, probably half a mile, from the others and remained in this semi-isolation for several months. Frequently members of the family would go to some elevated spot and mourn for the departed. "Sometimes they would go sit way up on the hill and feel bad. Somebody might come and talk good to them; make them feel right and bring them back to the group. Maybe if a man or woman died in the spring, they would feel bad all summer and live apart from the main village." There was no rite signaling the close of a period of mourning, unless the unobtrusive return of the family to the general camp can be construed as such.

There is one important exception to this last statement. To the elementary family, death had serious consequences, disrupting the most important segment of Kiowa-Apache social structure. The spouse was most affected, and his or her period of intense mourning was terminated by relatives-in-law. At a husband's death a woman shaved her head, gashed her arms and legs, and possibly cut off a little finger. She wore very old clothes, frequently only an old cape made from the smoke-blackened flaps of a tipi. In this miserable state she lamented the death of her husband until his relatives "took pity on her." If she had been a good wife and was liked by her husband's people, after about ten days her husband's sisters would call her to their tipi and dress her in new clothes. Similarly, a widower cut his hair and tore his clothes, going about almost naked until his deceased wife's brothers "took pity on him and gave him

good clothes." A spouse continued mourning—remaining unmarried—for about ten moons, but probably did not remain single this long if levirate or sororate marriages could be arranged. If the remarriage was with a person of another family, it should not occur for at least a year. Remarriage shortly after a spouse's death was an insult to the relatives-in-law; it was an indication that the deceased had not been loved and the proper respect was not being shown. If such a premature remarriage occurred, the deceased wife's sisters would whip the widower and might also whip his bride without interference. Similarly, the brothers would take revenge if the widow remarried too soon. They might even cut off her nose and destroy her new husband's property.

If the woman doesn't say anything to her deceased husband's folks, and they hear about her new man and don't take anything, then they know those people [the deceased's relatives] sure are mad. Some of the relatives of the other man—his brother, father, cousin—will take a pipe to the dead man's relatives, usually his brother's, and give them the pipe. They have to take the pipe; they can't refuse. They smoke and everything is dropped.

The proper conduct was for the spouse to wait a sufficient period, depending frequently upon circumstances, and then obtain the permission of the relatives-in-law to a remarriage. If such behavior were followed, the bonds between a person and the deceased spouse's relatives were strengthened. The new husband and his relatives would give presents to the woman's deceased husband's relatives, creating a bond between her new relatives-in-law and her "former" relatives-in-law. They cannot actually be called "former" relatives-in-law, for neither death nor divorce severed the tie of relationship. A father-in-law continued to call his deceased son's wife "daughter-in-law," and at her marriage he called her new husband "son." Thus the new husband took the place of the deceased husband, acquiring the dead man's relatives. For this reason the widow's relatives-in-law were concerned with her remarriage, and similarly a deceased woman's family was concerned in the widower's remarriage. These remarriages brought together three different groups of people: one's own relatives, "former" relatives-in-law, and new relatives-in-law.

When a member of one of the dancing societies died, that group had to obtain permission from the deceased's relatives before the next dance was held. When asking for permission (which was never denied), the society brought presents to the relatives, and there was general weeping and wailing for the dead. Should the society overlook this courtesy, the deceased's father, brother, or uncle would go to the place of meeting, destroy the drum and possibly other property, and break up the dance. Before the society dared have another meeting, it would have to gather a great number of presents and take them to the angered relative. After the smoking and mourning for the departed and the presentation of gifts, the relatives would be pacified and give permission for the society to meet.

"Something" survived after death, and there was a land of the dead, though these notions are very hazy. "When a man dies, put the body in the ground, but there is something here in the air, because you might hear some kind of noise. You can hear them, but you can't see them. One man he says he knows it; like radio."

"That which survived" was seldom named. The Kiowa-Apache say, "maybe it is *isinsin*"—the word for "spirit" or "owl." Those who talk to the dead talk to the owl; when the dead return, it is the owl returning; when an owl hoots, it is a dead person talking. There are certain men to whom the owl has given power, and these men can understand the hoot of an owl and talk to the dead (a procedure witnessed and described by four informants).

Long ago the land of the dead was visited by a Kiowa-Apache who brought back and gave to the people one of their worship bundles. This place is generally located under the ground, some times specifically located under the waters of "Medicine Lake," a mythical body of water said to be located in the Black Hills region of Dakota. No living Kiowa-Apache has seen this lake, but several of the old men would like to look for it. There is another, but very hazy, belief that "maybe they go up to the sky." This notion may be associated with the "Blue-White Man," whose garments are changeable as the sky, a person so

highly revered that his name is seldom mentioned and little is known about him now. He is the donor of the most sacred of the Kiowa-Apache worship bundles. The Kiowa-Apache say he is like the white man's Jesus. The land of the dead is much like this earth, except that there is never a scarcity of food. The man who went under or into "Medicine Water" saw there his dead friends and relatives, and as he sat in a tipi, he heard the ordinary sounds of camp life—the murmuring gossip of women, the scraping of hides, and the barking of dogs.

The Kiowa-Apache are too much concerned with living to be very much interested in the dead. They avoid the subject as much as possible, and their notions, when expressed, are rather hazy and sometimes contradictory. They seem to want to forget the dead. The deceased's name is avoided, at least by the family, and words in the language which are identical with the name are avoided for a time. After the death of a parent, a child will avoid the usual term for mother or father when addressing his classificatory parents and will use the secondary terms. Should a child accidentally forget and call his deceased father's brother *ace* ("father"), instead of the secondary term *kaan*, the family will be reminded of the dead and will mourn again. When a chief dies, all will mourn and avoid his name and similar words. That, say the Kiowa-Apache, is why they have so many synonyms and why their language changes.

CONCLUSION

The outline of Kiowa-Apache culture from the point of view of the kinship system has been completed. Some aspects of their life—such as visions, curing, myth, and ritual have barely been touched upon, but there should be sufficient material for an understanding of the social organization. It must first of all be remembered that the Kiowa-Apache are, and apparently always have been, a small tribe surrounded by peoples speaking unrelated languages. This linguistic isolation was not absolute, for the Plains tribes could communicate with one another when necessary by means of signs. All the Plains peoples were nomadic, without definitely fixed territories, and since most of

them were hostile to one another, the fear of attack was ever present. For mutual protection the Kiowa-Apache were drawn together. They were, of course, allied with the Kiowa, but as has already been pointed out, there was no deep feeling of intimacy. Though inferiority of numbers and linguistic isolation aided in binding the Kiowa-Apache together, these were probably not the most important factors integrating this tribe. The structure of the society, the inner factors, the social organization, were more important.

The various segments which comprise any society make up its social structure. These different aspects of the culture are bound together, sometimes intimately, sometimes loosely. Usually they are permanent, coherent groups controlling the life of a people. Among the Kiowa-Apache these segments existed but, with the exception of the dancing societies, were not well defined. There were, for instance, no definitely limited kin groups such as clans which are found so frequently among simpler peoples, particularly those with a classificatory system of terminology. Yet the really important factor integrating these people was kinship. As already noted, every Kiowa-Apache was related to almost every other. By means of the terminology all these people were classified, and with each kin group were associated definite behavior patterns.

Actually, behavior and terminology cannot be considered separately, for a type of conduct frequently takes its cue from the terminology. In the third ascending and descending generations, where these relatives are termed "older" and "younger" siblings, respectively, the informants, none of whom had a mature relative this far removed, did not know how they would act. One old man who had two small great-granddaughters "supposed" that, if they grew up and he lived long enough, he would treat them like "sisters," for he said, "I call them sisters." If they in turn had children, "I ought to call them 'niece' and 'nephew' and behave toward them as I would toward a sister's children. They are sister's children." It seems apparent that the terminology is a convenient way of labeling relatives and associating with each category a general type of behavior. Such a

scheme greatly facilitates social contacts, for as soon as one knows how he is related to an individual, he knows how to behave toward him, and since the Kiowa-Apache are almost all related, everyone knew how to act toward everyone else. The whole tribe was bound into one large kinship unit, and however distant or even fictitious these ties may have been, they were, nevertheless, very real to the Kiowa-Apache.

The most important segment or group of the Kiowa-Apache organization was the extended domestic family, the *kustcae*. Several tipis made up a *kustcae*; ideally each tipi housed an elementary family consisting of parents and children. Usually, however, there were several more distant relatives (a grandparent, a mother's or father's sibling) living with the elementary family for varying periods. Children were as much at home in the tipi of their parents' siblings as in the tipi of their own parents. The term "family," then, in the fixed sense in which we usually think of it, cannot be applied to the Kiowa-Apache. The family was a larger unit, very closely knit but, within the bounds of this group, rather variable and fluid. This unit of their social structure, the *kustcae*, or an "extended domestic family," consisted of a group of relatives who lived in several tipis which were located close together, but who did not as a rule eat together. The members of this group were bound by indissoluble bonds of kinship, based in part on matrilineal residence. The wider boundaries of these groups were indistinct and merged into one another. If each Kiowa-Apache family could be represented by one dominant color in the social fabric, there would be centers or splotches of a dominating hue which, though more prominent in one place, could be discerned throughout the fabric. A tiny strand of red or yellow would be found in a dominating splotch of blue. This likening of the social organization to a woven cloth is an old comparison, but there seems to be no better way to visualize the intricate interrelations of Kiowa-Apache family groups, for the core of each kin group is an easily recognized entity, yet merges imperceptibly with others to the very limits of the tribe.

The Kiowa-Apache always camped in relatively large groups

for mutual protection against raiding enemies. Such a camp, made up of several *kustcae*, was called a *gonka*. It was said not to have been a fixed grouping, since its size and importance depended, in part at least, upon the prestige of its leader or leaders. After coming together in the late spring for the annual Sun Dance with the Kiowa, the Apache split up into various groups which might align themselves differently each year. The same people might not remain together even for a winter. Thus, theoretically, there was nothing fixed about the *gonka*, but actually several families probably camped together year after year, clustering about the same leader so that, aside from minor fluctuations, the *gonka* probably remained much the same.

The only clearly defined segments among the Kiowa-Apache were the dancing societies or associations of which there were four: *Kasowe*, *Manatidie*, *Klintidie*, and *Izuwe*. The *Kasowe*, as we have seen, was a children's group to which every boy and girl belonged and was considered by the Kiowa-Apache as a "worship." This rite bound the children close together, gave them a feeling of unity and importance, taught them social discipline by making them conform to the rules of the dance and in co-operating with other children, and intimately allied them with the owner of the most important worship bundle. The *Kasowe* is one of the most important integrating factors in Kiowa-Apache life, not only giving unity to an age-group, but giving the children a feeling of intimacy with the most important ritual of the tribe and thereby establishing a continuity in time. The two adult male dancing societies, the *Manatidie* and *Klintidie*, were of somewhat different nature. They are typical of the Plains soldier bands, having "police" functions in regulating the buffalo hunt and change of camp. Another important function was in encouraging bravery during battle, since certain rules forced members to stand their ground, even in the face of death. The nature and function of the women's society, the *Izuwe*, can no longer be ascertained since it was a secret organization and none of the women living belonged to it. It is now thought to have been a worship group, probably very much like the Kiowa "Old Women" society, to which young men prayed for success

before going on an expedition. Perhaps it was a means of encouraging men to do brave deeds and of giving them a feeling of confidence because of the ritual sanction. In these societies all families were represented and bound into a brotherhood or sisterhood; thus, these groups cut across family lines and unified the tribe as a whole.

Other groups among the Kiowa-Apache were not so well defined. The raiding groups were well organized and distinct so long as a raid lasted, but split up as soon as the expedition returned. They can, therefore, be considered only as semipermanent organizations.

More important groupings were those pertaining to the three (now four) worship bundles. These bundles were important factors in establishing a unity in time. These sacred objects very definitely belonged to families and were usually inherited in the male line. The bundles were respected by all Kiowa-Apache, but certain taboos might be observed only by the owner's immediate family. One of these bundles was considered more important and was deeply venerated by all members of the tribe, thus tending toward integrating the whole group. One of the important functions of the bundle-owner was to act as an arbitrator in settling disputes. He would take the peace pipe to an avenging person or persons, and they could neither refuse to smoke nor harbor resentment after they had smoked. All disagreements could be settled in this manner, and it is inconceivable to the Kiowa-Apache that anyone would or could violate a bundle-owner's decision. Sometimes the injured party was given gifts at the time of smoking, but even if this were not done, the disagreement was considered satisfactorily settled. In this manner any disruption from within which threatened the social security could be expeditiously terminated. Thus, the worship bundles integrated the *kustcae* and extended, as the larger kin group did, to the limits of the tribe.

An additional factor which probably aided in integrating the *kustcae* was the occasional ownership of a heraldic tipi. Only one such tipi has been used recently (fifty years ago), though formerly there probably were more. These tipis were painted in a

definite manner, sometimes with a design such as a panther, a bear, the rainbow, etc., according to the visionary experience. These tipis belonged to families and were never destroyed at the owner's death, but were inherited in the male line. There was something sacred about them, probably because they were bound up with visions which were the result of supernatural experiences. One such tipi, painted a solid yellow, was associated with the sun; another tipi with four yellow lines about an inch wide encircling it was associated with one of the worship bundles. So far as can be determined now, these tipis were primarily family emblems and undoubtedly tended toward a greater unity and stability of the kin group.

The shields were similar integrating emblems and likewise were the result of a vision. Usually there was a definite number of shields (seven) of each type, and though the owners did not necessarily belong to a certain family, they usually did. This small group of men was intimately bound together through a common ritual. These groups were not continuous in time, probably lasting little longer than the life of the originator, but they tended toward a horizontal integration.

Since families are of so much importance and are integrated by a number of factors, it might be supposed that there would be a definite number, or that certain outstanding families would tend to become stabilized. Here are all the apparently necessary elements for the development of clans, but there was no such segmental organization.

To sum up, Kiowa-Apache integration was of a simple type; there were few groupings, and these tended toward fusion rather than toward apposition. The kinship system was the basis of the social structure and intimately bound together the extended domestic family, with the kin ties extending to the tribal limits. Political and religious interests followed family lines primarily, but again were extended to include the whole tribe. Heraldic tipis were symbols of a family, as were the shield groups, but these latter could include more than immediate kin. Economically, family groups were independent, yet to secure a large number of buffalo (when many hides might be needed for making

tipis, etc.), tribal co-operation was desirable. Thus, factors which bound family groups together extended to tribal limits. Tribal cohesion was furthered by the dancing societies which included all prominent men or women, by the Apache's functioning as a band in the annual Kiowa camp circle, by linguistic isolation which distinguished the tribe and set it apart from other Plains peoples, and by inferiority of numbers which practically necessitated mutual agreement and cohesion for protection and consequent survival.

With so many social forces tending toward tribal unity, it is not surprising that the Kiowa-Apache were a closely integrated people. This undoubtedly accounts for the maintenance of their identity through many generations during which time they were surrounded and literally engulfed by unrelated and mostly hostile tribes which far outnumbered them. I think that possibly the unity felt by the Kiowa-Apache as a whole was expressed by the owner, the priest, of one of the worship bundles. He took care of his religion and prayed primarily to it, but he also prayed to the other Kiowa-Apache "worships," for he said, "We are not like white man; we don't kick each other."

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The following abbreviations are used:

AA	American Anthropologist
AAA-M	American Anthropological Association, Memoirs
AES-P	American Ethnological Society, Publications
AMNH-AP	American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers
AMNH-B	American Museum of Natural History, Bulletin
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletins
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology, (Annual) Reports
CU-CA	Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology
FMNH-PAS	Field Museum of Natural History, Publications, Anthropological Series
ICA	International Congress of Americanists
JAFI	Journal of American Folklore
SI-CK	Smithsonian Institution, Contributions to Knowledge
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology

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